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MATERIAL FOR A HISTORY
OF
POPE ALEXANDER VI

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FOR A HISTORY OF

Pope Alexander VI

HIS RELATIVES AND HIS TIME

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VOLUME II

RODERIC DE BORGIA

FROM THE CRADLE TO THE THRONE

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BRUGES

DESCLÉE, DE BROUWER AND C°

1924.

PREFACE

We have so far hardly touched upon the history of pope Alexander VI. Nearly the whole of our first volume is devoted to information regarding the members and relatives of the Borgia house, and especially those whom that Pontiff took under his peculiar protection, and who, for several centuries, have been considered as his own children.

With this second volume we commence to gather material for a History of Roderic de Borgia, later pope Alexander VI, although we are well aware of the warnings given us to abstain from our design.

" Fanatics only can undertake to defend Alexander VI ; Raynaldi judged him honestly, in what he said of him and Bzovius was brazen-faced enough to praise him ", Gregorovius declares [1]. Raynaldi, although prejudiced by Mariana as to the moral purity of the Pontiff, honestly does him justice and lauds him, in several passages of his Annals ; and we feel happy in sharing with Bzovius the insulting epithet of the bitter Gregorovius.

There are Catholic historians, who see no harm in heaping upon the memory of pope Alexander VI all sorts of insinuations and accusations, and delve into the dust of private archives, to find some new proof or excuse for their calumnies ; and who, at the same time dissuade Catholic scholars from speaking in defense of that Pontiff. We lately read in a celebrated Review that " historians, no less pious than learned, condemn most severely the conduct of Alexander VI, and that to do otherwise, far from helping the cause of the papacy, would, on the contrary, do it much harm ;

1. Gesch. der Stadt Rom., Bd. | VII, s. 500.

because, sooner or later, the truth would rise again and the fraud of the ill-advised defense would remain exposed and covered with shame ". This is equivalent to asserting that a word spoken in favor of that Pontiff is a word uttered in spite of known truth ; and that any evidence, proof or document set forth even in a serious and critical defense, is doomed to be of no avail, to be thrown aside by pious and learned authors, in order to let the old calumnies revive and flourish again. The author of this article [2] is afraid also that, to speak well of the slandered Pope would call forth the ridicule of the wicked, which, the less it would be unprovoked, the more venomous would be its bite. He fears that to defend that Pontiff would be inciting the passion of his enemies to belch forth more shameless calumnies. Does he perhaps expect to appease the hatred of Protestants and Infidels against the Catholic religion, by surrendering to them the field of historical research and lending them a helping hand to revile a Catholic Pope ? Moroni [3] justly admonishes such pusillanimous leaders, when he says : A Catholic writer must not accumulate on Alexander VI all that can sadden and disfigure his Mother, the Church, while, at the same time, dishonoring one who was his father in the faith.

Some learned celebrities, as they title one another, administer their warnings with the authority of a supreme judge, when they proclaim that any rehabilitation of Alexander VI is simply impossible [4]. Thus Gregorovius asserts [5] that the moral character of Alexander VI cannot be saved, in the presence of incontestable documents—of which he does not and can not bring forward a single one. So also Pastor

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2. Civiltà Cattolica, ser. 8, vol. IX, p. 731.
3. Dizionario, Art. Valenza, p. 259.
4. H. Matagne, Rev. des Quest. Histor., vol. IX, p. 467.
5. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. XII.

states that[6]: " It is a historian's duty forcibly to show, that there are evidences on hand, whose probatory force is such as to reduce to naught every attempt at saving this man's moral character. To these, namely, belong Roderic's ignominious relations with the Roman Vannoza de Catanei ". We challenge Pastor to give a single instance of any relation whatsoever with either the Spanish or the Roman Vannoza, to prove by any document or contemporary credible witness, that he ever spoke with, or even saw, either of them. To bolster up his slander, he assures us, on the following page, that a defense of Alexander VI has become for ever impossible, through Thuasne's late publication of the documents preserved in the archives of the duke of Osuna in Madrid. We notice, however, that Pastor never saw fit to disgrace his History by quoting, or referring to, any of those famous documents, which we have shown to be a heap of malicious and senseless forgeries.

H. de l'Epinois magisterially declares that any effort to justify pope Alexander VI is jeopardizing the good faith and honor of the Catholic school of History, or at least is a proof of its ignorance ; and, therefore, he has written, he says, to prevent any further attempt, the long article, " Le Pape Alexander VI ", in Tome XXIX of the Revue des Questions Historiques[7], where he pretends to be the champion of truth and of Catholic sincerity, by allowing to his victim a few fragments of justice, and finding him guilty of immorality and other crimes ; not from personal research, but upon the authority of " the masters by whom he has been taught ", and whose incriminations we shall notice him sometimes gratuitously to exaggerate.

The learned historians and their masters have not only

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6. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 588.

7. p. 427.

made of pope Alexander VI a culprit, but pretend to have convicted him, and the Civiltà Cattolica says [8] : Their verdict passes for an axiom so evident and infallible, that simply to call it in doubt seems to be an unpardonable temerity ; because it is a fact that History has already pronounced an irrevocable sentence ; and because the presumption of ever clearing the memory of that Pope is as foolish and futile, as is the attempt at whitewashing an Ethiopian. Yet Cantu stigmatized such a pretention, when he wrote [9] : " L'élu fut Alexandre VI. Il suffit de le nommer, pour ceux qui acceptent les opinions toutes faites. "

Dark, indeed, like a negro, pope Alexander VI stands before us, as painted by his pious and learned enemies, before whom all else should humbly bow [10], but who are considered by others as passionate judges [11] ; and we venture to add, that they were judges, who often relied on general accusations, copied by one from another ; and did not take the trouble to hear the witnesses of the defendant.

All the worst accusations that can be imagined against the public and private life of a Sovereign or of a Pontiff, have been accumulated on the head of Alexander VI [12]. It seems to me, Rawdon Brown says [13], that History has made use of the Borgias, as of a canvas, whereon to depict all the corruption of the XVth and XVIth centuries. Panvinius denounces him as a man of inhuman fierceness, of immense avarice and rapacity, of an insatiable desire of procuring, by right and wrong, dominions for his sons, and as abandoning himself to all sorts of enjoyments, whenever he was

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8. Anno 19o, vol. I, p. 142.
9. Réforme en Italie, Disc. XI, p. 44.
10. de l'Epinois, Revue des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 358.
11. Archiv. della R. Soc. Romana di Storia Patria, vol. XI, p. 299 : Badiámo che i Borgia ebbero sempre giudici poco sereni.
12. Civiltá Cattol., ser. 11, vol. III, p. 485.
13. Ragguagli sulla Vita di Sanuto, p. 207, n.

not pressed by matters of importance [14]. The Civiltà Cattolica enumerates a score of vices and crimes imputed to Alexander VI ; but concludes the long list with the sensible remark, that such an excess of incriminations, both in number and grievousness, must, sooner or later, excite suspicion in minds desirous of truth [15].

The following tirade of Gaspar of Verona [16] has been copied times and again : " It is easier not to speak of this Pope than to say anything calmly of him. His vices were extreme, his virtues were mediocre, or, to speak more correctly, were nil. He obtained by evil means the pontifical dignity [17], and retained it by measures no better. I have, so far, not found a single writer who praises him, not one of that time, not one of later years. "

Gaspar did not hear of the praises lavished on cardinal Roderic de Borgia, at his accession to the pontifical throne ; by Jason Mayno, whose eulogy was printed several times, and by the other speakers, at the solemn acts of obeisance of the Catholic princes. He has not heard of the Commentary of the contemporary, Jerome Porcius, printed in the year 1493, so laudatory of pope Alexander VI, that it suggests the idea of flattery. He has not heard of the poems, of which it may suffice to report an original, as Document 51[bis]. Nor did he hear of the canzonet, that Johannes, a doctor of law and papal musician, encouraged by the cardinal vicechancellor, wished to sing after the Offertory in the palace chapel [18]. The Pope accepted a copy of the poem in his room, but postponed the singing till the Greek calends. Gaspar of Verona has not heard the praises,

14. Panvinius, Alex. VI, p. 342.
15. Ser. 11, vol. III, pp. 485, 486.
16. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad An. 1503, n. XII, n.
17. A slander which still survives many others.
18. Burchard, Diarium, t. II, p. 13.

which the bishop of Gallipoli had bestowed on the late pope Alexander VI, in his sermon of the 16th of September, 1503, to the Sacred College of cardinals, when these were to enter the conclave for the election of his successor[19]. He never heard of the high praises which Juan Lopez, bishop of Perugia, already on the 28th of March, 1493, wrote of the Pontiff to the Illustrious Enrique Enriquez in Spain [20].

The Roman poetaster, Galcetto del Carretto, composed, in honor of pope Alexander VI, a lengthy bucolic, preserved in the library Vittorio Emanuele [21]. His rhymes are not so striking as the lines of the distant Sanazzaro, but their simplicity is more reliable, as they clearly indicate that the writer was wel acquainted with the person of his hero.

A few years after pope Alexander's death, at the time that the castigated princely tyrants of the Pontifical States were clamoring against him, another contemporary, Egidius of Viterbo, dared to deduct from his actions the following description of his natural talents. He had a most penetrating intelligence, he says ; was ingenious, prudent, industrious and had a natural eloquence, very apt to convince. No man ever acted more carefully, persuaded more powerfully, defended more tenaciously. So great did he appear in all things, that, in thinking, in speaking, in suffering, he would have been a great prince, had the qualities, that adorned him, been free and not eclipsed by many faults [22]. It would seem, he continues, that nothing prevented anyone, who observed him publicly at work, from asserting that he was born to command. He was very frugal of food and sleep, yet fond of pleasures, although he never omitted, on their

19. English Hist. Review, VII, 311, ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 472, n. 4.

20. Fidel Fita, Estudios Histor. Rom. VI, p. 124.

21. Mss. Sessoriani, no. 413, c. 58.

22. He could not help making a concession to the hatred and prejudice of the aristocracy of that time.

account, to perform public duties or to admit visitors ; and he never refused his presence or his answer to any official caller. Egidius of Viterbo actually increases his praise by adding that, in spite of his kindness and activity, the time in which he lived, was a sad, corrupt and disturbed period [23].

Leonetti [24] mentions the following contemporaries, all of whom highly praise pope Alexander VI, and whom Gaspar of Verona never read : Capodiferro, whose eclogues are preserved in the Vatican Library ; Bartolini, an author of hymns ; Giuliano Dati, another poet ; Cantalici, who wrote the Latin poem " De Parthenope bis recepta ", and the Genoese ambassador, James Spinula, who delivered a Latin discourse, a brilliant panegyric of the Pontiff, which was printed in Rome and well received by many readers.

These particulars prove that Gaspar of Verona has searched at the wrong place for ancient panegyrists of pope Alexander VI.

Should we quote from writers of later years, it would soon be evident that the Pontiff never was so absolutely and universally condemned, as it is but too often and too lightly assumed.

Here follow the expressions of some learned historians, directly bearing on the true value of the so-called irrevocable condemnation of pope Alexander VI.

Mariana, who has been deceived by the manuscript lampoon, as senseless as it is mischievous, of which we are to speak soon, has this to say [25] : The authors of those times, that is, of the period following the demise of Alexander VI, have not spared him. They wrote and published a hundred

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23. Historia XX Seculorum, Rome, Bibl. Angelica, Cod. 8, 19 ; ap. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. XLIX, n. ; Ciaconius, Vitae Roman. Pontiff, p. 151, who recites several more of Alexander's remarkable habits and qualities.

24. Papa Alessandro VI, vol. III, p. 548.

25. Histoire d'Espagne, t. V, p. 403.

depreciating remarks against him. It would be hard to determine whether envy, hatred or temporal interests had not perhaps as large a share as truth, in all that rumor has spread. As I would not dare to assert that it all is false, so would I not venture to justify and guarantee all that is told.

Hübner assures us [26] that Alexander VI was considered by his contemporaries to be a great Pope.

Von Reumont, who elsewhere bitterly accuses him, plainly declares [27] that the reports on his conduct during his long cardinalate are contradictory, " widersprechend, " and [28] that contemporary writers have often belied, and subsequent historians have much slandered, him. He testifies [29] that his action in ecclesiastical matters has given no occasion for blame ; since his most virulent enemies have not, in this respect, formulated any accusations against him.

The Civiltà Cattolica states [30] that the records of his bulls and briefs prove that he was a most honorable Prince and a Pope irreproachable, vigilant and zealous in the administration and teaching of the Church.

Pope Alexander VI has been presented to us as a type of all wickedness ; yet so in the domain of romance rather than of history. Cesare Cantu [31], and Muzzi [32], declare that story-tellers and epigrammatists have written about Alexander VI more fiction than we find in all mythology.

Gregorovius acknowledges that " pope Alexander VI is a puzzle, an inscrutable mystery even to the most penetrating eye of a psychologist. We detect in him ", he says [33], " no incentive of his delinquencies : neither desire of honor

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26. Sixte V, Introd., p. IV.
27. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III,, I, s. 201.
28. Ibid., s. 294.
29. Ibid., s. 247.
30. Ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 414.
31. Réforme en Italie, Disc. XI, p. 441.
32. Annali di Bologna, vol. V, p. 197.
33. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 294.

nor of domination, no misanthropy, nor cruelty, nor enjoyment of evil ; sensuality only and its noblest refinement, the love of the children. All experiences of psychology make us expect that the burden of sin should have made of Alexander a man dark with fear and gloom ; but he constantly stands before us cheerful and happy, ready for enjoyment, till the last days of his life ". From this it appears that Gregorovius had not described the real Alexander VI, but painfully created a psychological impossibility. Does he not confess his mistake, when, at the end of the book [34], he says : " If we commit the greatest errors in the perception of contemporaries known to us, how much more are we exposed to blunder, when we represent to ourselves the life of persons, who are but shadows for us. History ", he adds, " is the world's tribunal, but the writing of history is often the most ignorant of tribunals ".

Henry de l'Epinois, proposed by Thuasne [35] as an indispensable guide of all historians of the Borgias, emphatically asserts, upon the assertions of others, that pope Alexander VI had illegitimate children ; but he also admits [36] that, on many occasions, the faults and crimes imputed to him have been exaggerated or simply invented. If, he adds, the accusations of immorality and cruelty bordered on the incredible, they have not been omitted, because anything is possible : he is a Borgia, they said. " From all sides [37] they have furiously fallen upon the memory of that Pontiff, without admitting what was blameless and even praiseworthy in him, and thus they have encircled his name with a legend of misdeeds ".

And now that the " infallible and irrevocable " sentence of condemnation of pope Alexander VI has been thus cur-

34. Ibid., s. 370.
35. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. XLVIII.
36. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 423.
37. Ibid., p. 424.

tailed and practically set aside by most of his pious and learned judges themselves, we should not wonder, if de l'Epinois and Thuasne [38] state that " the history of that Pope is still to be written ". The Archivio Storico Italiano [39] expresses the wish that some severely critical writer, free of systematic denigration and of obstinate apology, should give us a true likeness of Roderic Llansol (de Borgia), constantly represented under an odious form. But it is not an easy task, Balan remarks [40], to find the truth in the deep darkness, with which it has been covered, since former historians did not know the facts, or could not or would not tell them ; and now it is necessary to search for them in the documents of ancient archives.

Balan has done his share of the hard work required to fulfill the wish of the Archivio Storico ; but the labor needed, to place before the public a true history of the life and works of pope Alexander VI has never been performed ; and we readily confess that this our work leaves much room for more complete research of contemporary documents and evidences.

Learned but timorous Catholic historians have not sounded a note of warning against further revilements of the slandered Pontiff ; and Protestants and Infidels, not to mention a few professional Catholics, have produced a pile of books and pamphlets, of articles and discussions, to disgrace pope Alexander VI. Nor did they need the provocation of apologies or defenses of that Pope, to continue their baneful work. " The Borgias will, for a long time to come, incite the probing of historians and psychologists, " Gregorovius says [41], and he says well that " they—Roderic in particular— will always appear and remain in the background as representatives of

38. Burchard, Diar., t, III, p. XLVIII.
39. Ser. 3, t. XVI, p. 490.
40. Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 293.
41. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. IX, X.

the Catholic Church. Hence the great interest that attaches to anything relating to them. Were not this the case, they would cease to be more than any other of their kind ". That means that they will be slandered as long as there will be an enemy of the Catholic Church. The neglect of bringing forth the proofs of pope Alexander's justification, for fear of exciting the passion of the enemies of the Church is a double mistake, because it will never prevent them from renewing their attacks, but rather make them bold to exaggerate old accusations and to invent new charges.

Was it not the warnings and the almost authoritative inhibitions of writers of a great name, that have prevented Catholic scholars from undertaking the hard studies indicated by Balan ? Actually, no attempt has yet been made to give a credible, a truthful relation of the whole life of pope Alexander VI, and the most complete history of his reign is still the Diary of his master of ceremonies, John Burchard. It is noticeable that, even in regard to several particular charges, Catholic authors have kept silent until Protestants or Infidels, like Roscoe, Ranke, Voltaire and Gregorovius have first discredited them as improbable and untrue.

They avoid spending money and precious time in tedious search after original documents and contemporary evidences, in dusty archives and remote libraries ; while justly confident that the Catholic church is not liable to suffer from the accusations made against any of her adherents or even against any of her leaders, whose sinful behavior she would be the first to condemn. Good sense made Gregorovius himself admit [42] that the misconduct of her members can never destroy the respectability of the Church, whose divine constitution and laws invariably lead to an orderly, moral and

42. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 296.

holy life. Non-Catholics, on the contrary, unwilling to admit the supernatural establishment of the Church, and considering her as a product of the human mind, form their opinion of her from the actions of her members and especially of her prelates. If they see one deviate from the prescribed path, they exaggerate his mistake, and unjustly reprove, not only the offender, but also the Church whose rules he has transgressed ; that is, they are scandalized, or become opposed more bitterly than before to the Institution established by Jesus Christ for their eternal salvation.

In order to stem the tide of vague and unjust assertions against the defunct Pontiff, some Catholic writers have, of late years [43], published short popular Lives of pope Alexander VI. They are free of the worst slanders brought forth by his enemies, while some offer good arguments against them ; but, for lack of preparatory labor, they nearly all are very deficient historically. They are :

L'abbé Jorry : Histoire du pape Alexandre VI (1851).

Jules Favé : Etudes Critiques sur l'histoire d'Alexandre VI (1859).

J. Chantrel : Le pape Alexandre VI (1877, 3me Edit.).

J. H. Wensing : Paus Alexander VI. Freely translated from Chantrel (1468).

M. J. Ollivier, O. P. has had the misfortune of being misled by an unreliable manuscript, and has moreover written from imagination : Le pape Alexandre VI et les Borgia, 1re partie : Le cardinal de Llançol y Borgia (1870).

Cerri, Domenico : Borgia ossia Alessandro VI Papa (1873). From which we have taken a few notes.

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43. Our ordinary duties have not only retarded the publication of this our Work, but also prevented us from becoming acquainted, these last thirty years with new writings on pope Alexander VI.

Nemec : Papst Alexander VI (1879). This is a judicious but no original work.

Clement de Vebron : Les Borgia. Histoire du pape Alexandre VI, de César et de Lucrèce Borgia (1882), a large volume provided with numerous references and a few little-known original documents of great importance. This valuable book is, however, also deficient in weighty particulars of that Pontiff's life, and especially in documents and authorities, that would refute the accusations brought against him.

In the year 1880, A. Leonetti published his " Papa Alessandro VI ", according to documents and writings of the time. It is a precious work of History, because the author, through patient research, has discovered nearly every important detail of the youth and cardinalate of Roderic de Borgia and of pope Alexander VI, and all the most villainous incriminations made against him, which he honestly brings forth one after another, discusses, though too elaborately at times, and refutes them with contemporary evidences. To A. Leonetti belongs the honor of having had the courage to contest an infamous prescription of four centuries, and of being the first to intimate the probability of the fact that the children : Giovanni, Cesar, Lucretia, etc. de Borgia, imputed, without any serious proof, to Roderic de Borgia, were the legitimate progeny of one of the cardinal's nearest relatives [44].

Leonetti has been scolded by Henry de l'Epinois [45] for daring to contradict, he, an unknown man, the learned notorieties of the past and present times ; as if but de l'Epinois himself, the Bollandists and titled authors had a right to dictate what is false or true in History ! De l'Epinois has

44. Vol. I, cap. V, s. XVI.

45. Rev. des Quest. Hist. t. XXIX, p. 385.

pretended to refute the disturbing historian by laboriously raking together the most minute and most infamous accusations of Gregorovius and of other late enemies of pope Alexander VI, and by exaggerating those of more ancient writers, as we will notice from time to time in the course of our work. Doctor von Pastor has, without any trouble, authoritatively set aside Leonetti, as an unsuccessful apologist, and refused to take into account his reasonable discussions and documents.

A periodical that must be counted among the learned and famous literary productions, the Civiltà [46], has welcomed the publication of Leonetti with an article of seven pages, as it had seldom written in praise of any historian, in which the great Review nobly apologizes for the remarks it had in former years inadvertently reprinted against pope Alexander VI. The Review declares that " the time has come to rewrite the history of that Pontiff, as has been rewritten, in our time, the history of popes Gregory VII and Innocent III. It gives credit to Leonetti for having drawn of Alexander VI a picture, which, as exhibited until this day, appears as an image painted under the doubtful rays of twilight by an artist as blind in the eyes as daring with the hand. According to Mansi, there was nothing good in that Pope and everything evil in the worst degree. This, in itself, is incredible, and Leonetti has set up in order, not one or two actions or qualities of Alexander VI, but a whole series of them, of which any successor of St. Peter might boast, and that are sufficient, for any upright man, to make him reject the general opinion which he had formed of that Pope. It is not a small merit of the brilliant writer to have called forth serious doubts, that from many minds will dispel their former conviction. We conclude by saying that

46. Ser. 11 vol. II, p. 485.

Leonetti has, by his work, rendered a great service to justice, to history and to all the faithful, who will rejoice at seeing a Roman Pontiff vindicated of numberless calumnies ".

Such are some of the praises lavished upon the well deserving author by an appreciative contributor to the learned Review.

We were considerably advanced in our research, before we read Leonetti, and we had already then succeeded in gathering not a few documents and evidences, seemingly unknown to him and to any other writer on Alexander VI. We noticed that many very interesting details of the Pontiff's history were lacking and that more decisive answers could be made to his calumniators. Encouraged by the achievements of the brilliant apologist, we continued our search after facts and proofs, from country to country, and spared neither labor nor money in order to thoroughly investigate who was Alexander VI, of what he had been accused, and especially what he had done.

We are confident that the readers of our work will apply, to pope Alexander VI in particular, what the Civiltà Cattolica says [47] of the Popes of the end of the XVth century in general: " Certain it is that everyone, who shall contemplate them at close range, after having heard all the enormities, which are accustomed to be laid to their charge, and who shall study them in their actions and in the authentic documents of their pontificate, will remain astounded at finding them altogether different from what they have been represented to him, and will hardly believe his own eyes, when he observes to what length ignorance and wickedness were capable of going in the absurdity of caricaturing historic personages."

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47. An. 19, vol. I, p. 145.

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CHAPTER I.

Roderic de Borgia's Youth.

ARTICLE I. — BIRTHPLACE OF RODERIC DE BORGIA.

We have, in the first volume of this work, become acquainted with the illustrious ancestors of pope Alexander VI and, in particular, with his parents, the noble Jofre and Isabella de Borgia. Next are the questions, where and when he was born.

All historians agree that he was a Spaniard by birth, and quite a number call him a Valencian. Thus, Muzzi [1] asserts that pope Alexander VI was from Valencia. Ammirato [2] likewise says that Rodrigo Borgia was a Spaniard, a native of Valencia. Bembo [3] designates him as Alexander Borgia of Valencia, and Ciaconius [4] also calls him Roderic Borgia, a Valencian Spaniard. Oldoinus [5] and Leonetti [6] remind us of an inscription on the Vatican gallery to Sant' Angelo, which names pope Alexander VI a Spaniard and a Valencian.

We should, however, remark that the expression, born in Valencia, or, a Valencian, does not necessarily designate the city of Valencia as the birthplace of Roderic de Borgia ; for Ciaconius, who calls also Calixtus III a Valencian, clearly states that he was born in the ancient and prominent town

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1. Annali di Bologna, t. V, p. 198.
2. Istor. Fiorent., t. V, p. 326.
3. Ap. Burchard, Diar., vol. II, p. 2, footn.
4. Vitae et Gesta Roman. Pontiff., p. 148.
5. Additam. ad Ciaconium, p. 162.
6. Papa Alessandro VI, vol. III, p. 301.

of Setabis or Xativa, as is well known to be the case. Valencia, at and before that time, signified not only the city, but often the whole province and former kingdom of that name, as also the whole diocese of Valencia.

Could the term always be taken in this broader sense, there would be no disagreement in regard to the place where Roderic de Borgia first saw the light of day ; but not a few historians explicitly restrict its meaning on this occasion to the capital city exclusively. Mariana [7], who in the same passage mistakes concerning the parents and morality of pope Alexander VI, declares Roderic de Borgia to be born in the city of Valencia. The Bollandists [8] naturally follow Mariana. Hartman Schedel, who was visiting in Rome at the time of pope Alexander's election, heard and reports [9] that " rhodericus boria " was born in Spain in the city of Valencia. Spondanus [10] equally asserts pope Alexander VI to be a native of Valencia, " Valentiae ortus ", in Spain. This opinion is further held by the later writers, Sandini [11], Becchetti [12], Chevalier [13] and Dandolo [14] ; and it can easily be traced to Mariana, who lived more than a century later and often betrays carelessness in regard to this Pontiff.

One of our latest publicists, Henry de l'Epinois, does not submit to the authority of those writers, but states [15] that Roderic de Borgia was born at Xativa, in the diocese of Valencia, in Spain [16] ; and that such is the fact, can be esta-

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7. De Rebus Hispaniae, Lib. 26, cap. I, and Histoire d'Espagne, t. V, p. 122.
8. Ad 16m Octobris, p. 152.
9. Chronicar. Lib. fo CCLVIIvo.
10. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1492, s. 21.
11. Vitae Pontiff. Roman., p. 505.
12. Istor. degli Quattro ult. secoli, XV, 78.
13. Répertoire, Art. Alex. VI.
14. Roma ed i Papi, II, p. 408.
15. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 363.
16. The ancient Latin name of this town was Setabis, sometimes mistakenly written Scintium, Scienum, Scientia ; and the vernacular was Játiva, Zativa or, usually, Xativa. Since the year 1713 till the reign of Isabella, with the exception of A. D. 1812 to 1814, and of 1820 to 1823, the place

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blished by the testimony of a Roman contemporary diarist. Jacobus Volaterranus [17] reports that Roderic was a Spaniard by nationality and a Valencian by birth, but specifies by saying that he was born at the town of Scintium (Xativa) in the diocese of Valencia. Raynaldi [18] reproduces also this statement, with the slight change of the name into Scientia.

A Spanish contemporary chronicler, Lorenzo Galindez Carbajal, describes the successor of pope Innocent VIII as Don Rodrigo de Borja, a native of Játiva in the kingdom of Valencia [19].

Again, there is a popular song of that time, which tells us that pope Alexander VI was a Valencian from a town called Zativa, which is distant thirty miles from a city named Valencia [20].

An anonymous contemporary manuscript diary, long kept among the archives of Xativa and afterwards preserved in the Valencian monastery of the Dominican friars, gives us the following interesting details : " The news of the election of pope Alexander VI reached Valencia on the 20th day of August. His sister, Beatriz de Borja, was congratulated and public festivities took place, in which appeared a certain William Tovia, a magistrate of Xativa, of which the Pontiff-elect was a native. Tovia wrote home at once, and on the following day, August 21st, a meeting was held in Xativa, where Tovia's letter was read ; and, immediately, the principal citizens and many of the people were called together ; the city council went to St. Mary's collegiate church and

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has been named San Felipe. It now continues to be Xativa or Játiva.

17. Diarii della Corte di Roma di Giacomo Volaterrano dal anno 1470 fino all' anno 1848, ap. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Cod.. 987, fo 71, and fo 145. — Published by Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. XXIII, 83.

18. Annal. Eccles. and an. 1492, no. XXVII.

19. See Document 51a.

20. Actually twenty-seven miles south-east of Valencia. See Document 51b.

ordered all the bells to be rung ; and there was a procession at which the " Te Deum " was chanted ; and all that with much enthusiasm, because the new Pontiff was a native of the town and baptized there. The following day, August the 22d, there was another meeting, in which the canons of the church took part ; and it was resolved to keep three days of festivities ; from the 23d to the 25th of the said month, namely, Friday, Saturday and Sunday, and that each day a procession should be made, in which all the confraternities should march ; that on those three days bonfires should be lighted at night ; and that on Sunday there should be a race of oxen on the church square. A proclamation was shouted forth, and all its directions were carried out. The proclamation mentioned the day of the election, which had taken place on the 11th of August. The city of Xativa and the Chapter appointed delegates : Ausias Rotla, a canon and administrator of that church ; Juan Ferriol, a magistrate ; Nicholas Sepulchre, a canon, and Ausias Malferit, a knight, to go and congratulate Lady Beatriz de Borgia. The address was written on the 27th of August, and Lady Beatriz was very glad and made answer on the 29th, offering her good favors for all that the Chapter and the city might desire to obtain from the Pontiff ".

The diarist here inserts the remark : All this I have seen in the book of records of the deliberations of that year. And he continues : " In order to ascertain forever that the Pontiff elect was born and raised in Xativa, the city willed that there should be enacted an instrument of evidence of the event, which should be attested by witnesses under oath, and that the testimony should be taken by Francesco Luis Bou, a knight, lieutenant of the governor Viceroy of Valencia this side the Jucar ; James Estaña, a donzel and judge of both civil and criminal cases in Xativa ; Galceran Escriva, a

knight ; Asensio Miralles, Francisco Dominquez and Baltasar Morello : councilmen of Xativa. They received the witnesses on the 27th and the 28th of August of the said year, and they were thirteen in number. These stated under oath that the Pontiff was a native of Xativa, that he was a son of the nobles, Jofre de Borja and Isabel de Borja ; that he was born in July at midnight ; that he was born in said city in the house of his father, Jofre de Borgia, on the square of the Borjas, near the market place ; that he was born in one of the rooms of said house, on the left hand side when entering the door ; that he himself, when he came from Rome as a legate and passed through Xativa, while crossing that square, accompanied by the city council, he said, indicating the house and the room where he was born, that he had been baptized in St. Peter's church ; and that it seems to have been a mystery, an omen, to let it be understood that he was to preside in the church of St. Peter in Rome ; and this, because it was the custom in Xativa to administer baptism in the collegiate church of St. Mary " [21].

Another contemporary document, an official letter of Xativa's attorney in Valencia, plainly states that Roderic de Borgia was Xativa's native son [22].

Those records may have been read and accepted by the ancient historian, Gaspar Escolano, who says [23] that Xativa has produced many subjects of great renown in arms, literature and holiness. He offers pope Calixtus III as an instance, and adds that several memoirs report the same of pope Alexander VI.

Nearly all modern authors follow the testimony of the contemporaries and of Escolano, in stating that Xativa near Valencia in Spain is the birthplace of Roderic de Borgia,

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21. See Document 1.
22. See Document 76.
23. Prima Decada de la Hist. de Valencia, vol. 2. col. 1166.

afterwards pope Alexander VI. Thus, in particular, Ximeno says [24] that Alexander VI was born in the city of Xativa, now San Felipe, as Rodriquez (Fr. Joseph) proves it with ancient documents against some writers who want him to be a native of Valencia. H. de l'Epinois, as noticed, Gregorovius [25], Thuasne [26], Giorgi [27] and Pastor [28] make the same report.

ARTICLE II. — TIME OF RODERIC DE BORGIA'S BIRTH.

Historians disagree more, on the time of Roderic de Borgia's birth than on the place where he was born.

We may simply set aside the assertion of the uncritical Dennistoun, who singularly says [29] that Roderigo Lenzuoli (de Borgia) was born in the year 1427. Nor should we pay any more attention to that of Dandolo, printing [30] that Roderic Lenzuoli (de Borgia) was born at Valencia (Xativa) in Spain, in the year 1451 ; since the latter of the two mistakes is probably a misprint, for 1431.

The Florentine ambassador, Franciscus Capellus, wrote on the 7th of July, 1500, that the Pope was seventy years old ; and in September of the same year, Paolo Capello, making his report before the Venetian Senate, also named seventy years, as being his age [31]. These statements might suggest the year 1430, as the one of his birth ; but the context proves that the object of the ambassador was merely to say that the Pontiff was an old man, who could not easily

24. Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, tom. I, p. 66.
25. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 313.
26. Burchard, Diar., tom. II, p. 425, footn.
27. Rodrigo Borgia allo studio di Bologna, p. 9, footn. 1.
28. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 586.
29. Memoirs of the dukes of Urbino, vol. I, p. 302.
30. Roma ed i Papi II, 408.
31. Burchard, Diar., tom. III, pp. 434, 435 ; Albèri, Relazioni, ser. 2, vol. III, p. 11.

recover from a painful accident, or that he was remarkable for his habitual gayety and constant labors.

Fidel Fita [32] states that, according to the most careful calculation, Rodrigo was born in the month of July, 1430.

The contemporary Hieronymus Porcius [33] relates that Roderic Borgia was born on the 11th of August in the last year of pope Martin V, that is, in A. D. 1430 ; but, strangely enough, he asserts that Roderic was in his fifty-ninth year " annum nonum et quinquagesimum agens ", when he was unanimously elected Pope. He thus delays his birth till the year 1432 or 33. The latter statement was the better.

Pastor reports [34] Rodrigo Lanzol, or Lenzuoli (de Borgia), as born in the year 1430, or 1431.

Jacobus Volaterranus entered into his diary that, in A. D. 1481, Roderic Borgia was about, " circiter ", fifty years old [35]. This means that he was born about the year 1431.

Gregorovius asserts [36] Rodrigo Lenzuoli (de Borgia) to have first seen the light of day on the 1st of January, 1431 ; and he corrects himself by stating [37] that, on the 21st September, 1456, he was a young man, twenty-two years of age ; born, therefore, in A. D. 1433, or 1434.

The great majority of historians give January the 1st, 1431, as the date of Rodrigo de Borgia's birth. Thus Ximeno [38], Moroni [39], Chevalier [40] and Matagne [41].

All those authors, in assigning the birth of pope Alexan-

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32. Estud. Histor., t. VI, p. 196.
33. Comment. Mscr. Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. B. B. B. I, 13, post initium, and ap. Burchard Diar., t. II, p. 607.
34. Gesch. der Päpste Bd. I, s. 586.
35. Diarii della corte di Roma, Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Cod. 987, fo 71.
36. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 313.
37. Ibid., s. 155.
38. Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, t. I, p. 66.
39. Dizion. Art. Borgia, p. 45.
40. Répert. Art. Alexander VI.
41. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XI, p. 183.

der VI to the 1st of January, 1431, simply copy one another, or refer to the sole authority of the contemporary diarist, Burchard ; as it is justly observed by Matagne [42]. We must, therefore, pay special attention to the original testimony.

John Burchard, who was a papal master of ceremonies and, as such, sometimes in closer proximity of the Pope, wrote on the 1st of January 1498, as follows : " After Mass the Pope said, within my hearing, to the cardinals, that he had completed yesterday the sixty-seventh year of his life, and was born on the first day of the week, the first day of the month and the first day of the year, and in the first year of the pontificate of pope Eugenius IV of happy memory. Others reported that it was on the first hour after the noontide of the last day of the next following month of December ; but Our Holy Father said nothing of the kind [43].

The Pope should consequently have been born on the 31st of December, 1430. But Burchard is honest enough to report that others—who may have been closer to the Pontiff—had understood him to say, that he was yet to finish his sixty-seventh year, at the noontide of the last day of the next following month of December ; and this particular changes the date of pope Alexander's birth to the 31st of December, 1431, or to the 1st of January, 1432. Burchard further explains by adding, that his birth had taken place on the 1st of January of the first year of the pontificate of pope Eugene the IV ; and this day was January 1st, 1432.

On the 25th of December, 1503 [44], Burchard made again the following entry : " My colleague, D. Bernardinus, related to me that yesterday the Pope said to him and to the other chaplains who celebrated in his presence, that he was of

42. Ibid., p. 185.
43. See Document 52a.
44. Diar., t. III, p. 228.

the age of seventy-one years, which he would complete on the last day of the present month "[45]. From which it is evident that pope Alexander VI was, indeed, born on January 1st, 1432.

We discovered sources of information, a number of papal documents, which agree with the above reports, and determine approximately the time at which Roderic de Borgia was born. There is a bull of Pope Nicholas V, dated July 11th, 1447, in which Roderic de Borge is stated to be in his 14th year of age[46]. If this 14 years was reckoned as completed, Roderic was born before July the 11th, 1432.

Another bull of the same Pontiff, bearing the date of the 8th of August, 1447, gives the age of the two first cousins, Louis John del Milá and Roderic de Borge. The former was in his 15th year, the latter in his 14th. Hence it likewise follows that Roderic was born before August 8th, 1432.

Again, in a bull of the 27th of October, 1450, it is stated that Roderic de Boria had declared his age to be of sixteen years, completed, it seems, or before 1433[47].

Pope Nicholas V issued on the 23d of December, 1450, another document, wherein Roderic de Boria is said to be in his 17th year of age[48]. This leads us to the conclusion that he may have been born before the 23d of December, 1432.

There is, finally, one more bull of the same Pontiff, dated October 22d of the year 1453, stating Roderic de Boria to be in his 20th year[49]; from which, if the year was completed, it follows that he was born before October the 22d, 1432.

From all the foregoing particulars we conclude that the last day of the year 1431, or the first of 1432 was the precise time of the birth of pope Alexander VI. The Xativa sworn

45. See Document 52b.
46. See Document 2.
47. See Document 10.
48. See Document 12.
49. See Document 15.

witnesses may, after a lapse of sixty years, have forgotten a trifling circumstance, when saying that Roderic was born during a month of July.

As noticed already, he was baptized and received his surname in the St. Peter's church of Xativa.

ARTICLE III. — RODERIC DE BORGIA'S YOUTH.

When removed from the cares of his nurse, the young Roderic de Borgia was confided to those of a teacher and tutor, named Antonio Nogueroles, who, mindful of the old saying : " mens sana, in corpore sano ", a sound mind in a sound body, did not overburden his pupil with study, but allowed him time for recreation and healthy exercise ; for it is recorded that, when eight years old, the boy was often seen riding a pony through the streets of Xativa.

Jofre de Borgia died while his son was still a child and, at the age of ten years, Roderic left his native town for Valencia, where his mother, Isabella, with all her family, took up her abode [50] ; no doubt, to avail herself of the convents and of the Academy of that city to improve the education of her children. It is highly probable that Roderic finished his classical course of studies at this advanced seat of learning, for which he always cherished a filial affection.

We naturally suppose that he was a brilliant student, when we hear every writer and historian, whether friend or foe, who speaks of him, extol his superior intellect and other mental qualities. In fact, a contemporary of pope Alexander VI relates that he was so well versed in all branches of humanities that he easily was at the head of his

50. See Document 1.

class [51]. Giovanni Stella, another contemporary, writes : His uncle, pope Calixtus, took care to have him, from his childhood, instructed in both human and divine sciences ; in which, being a youth of keen parts, he soon excelled ; and, even in early age, he gave signs of eloquence when making known his thoughts [52].

On the occasion of the solemn obeisance of the duke of Milan to the newly elected Pope, the Milanese orator, Jason de Mayno, had an opportunity to deliver a classical discourse, in which he was expected to dwell upon the Pontiff's laudable antecedents without, however, insulting him by praises that might be suspected or known to be undeserved. J. de Mayno ventured to make, among others, the following remarks : " Thou hast risen by thy virtues ; by thy labors and merits, thou hast opened the way to the heights to which thou hast now been exalted. When still a child, thou hast laid foundations suitable for the edifice which thou hadst conceived to erect in older age. I know not whether it was on account of an omen of nature or through a divine providence that, almost from the cradle, thou shouldst have governed thy moral conduct and action so as to become deserving of the sublime office, to fill which thou wast, it seems, being prepared and fitted. Thou hast practised especially such virtues and applied thyself to such branches of learning as seemed necessary to take care of so high a charge and suitable to render thee worthy of so vast a domination. Progressing along the straight path of polite literature, and climbing up on the golden steps of virtue, thou hast arrived at the summit of good fortune [53]. "

In the preamble of the bull by which pope Nicholas V

51. Continuator of Platina, Initio, ap. Leonetti, Alessandro VI, vol. III,p. 517, and Clément de Vebron, Les Borgia, p. 554.

52. Ap. Leonetti, Ibid., p. 523, and Clément de Vebron, Ibid., p. 559.

53. Roma, Bibl. Vittor. Eman. Cod. Sessorian. 314,fº 148.

granted his first privileges to Roderic de Borge, who was thirteen years old, we read that one of the motives of the Pontiff's generosity was the purity of moral behavior and the merits of his probity and other virtues, for which he had been recommended by reliable witnesses [54]. The same consideration is alleged for the concession of the next following favors ; and when Roderic was sixteen years of age, he was given a benefice in the collegiate church of Xativa, because the Pope had learned, from cardinal Alfonso de Borgia, of his many and continued acts of piety in that church [55].

From the general agreement of these various testimonies we may safely conclude that Roderic was not only a talented pupil, but also a virtuous, model youth.

Roderic was a cadet, probably the youngest among his brothers, and, as a consequence of the customs of the time, his future career was easily determined. His parents destined him for the clerical state of life [56]. He was to live by and for the Church, unless he should, when becoming of age, choose a different avocation. We cannot state the exact time of his admission to the clergy of the Valencian diocese ; but, since he could not obtain any benefice or prebend as long as he remained a secular, we may readily presume that he was received as a cleric, shortly after he had attained the legal age of seven years ; all the more, since the one to allow him the first tonsure was his uncle, Alfonso de Borgia, bishop of Valencia.

As we further know that Roderic always was a favorite of this uncle [57], we cannot but suppose that the bishop was

54. See Document 2.
55. See Document 12.
56. Cfr. de l'Epinois, ap. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 365 ; H. Matagne, ibid., t. IX, p. 469.
57. H. Matagne, ap. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. IX, p. 469 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 587.

not slow in making use of his ordinary faculties, to bestow upon his nephew the revenues of some Valencian church property, when we see him afterwards increase them, by granting him more benefices, in virtue of his episcopal authority and of special concessions of pope Nicholas V, after Alfonso's promotion to the cardinalate [58].

Already pope Eugene IV, who died in the beginning of the year 1447, had given to the young cleric the expectation of, or right of succession to, certain benefices, and had ordered to introduce him into possession of others, as mentioned in a bull of the succeeding Pontiff [59].

Before reporting how Roderic de Borgia was successively favored with numerous offices, prebends and prelacies, it may not be out of place to make a few remarks on ecclesiastical benefices, in order to prevent the too severe censures of liberalities of the Popes towards young clerics and church officials.

In the United States today the Catholic bishops are obliged to defray the education of a large number of their future priests, by means of charitable collections from the faithful. In nearly all institutions of higher learning for the young clergy, a number of free scholarships have been founded through pious donations or legacies. In several novitiates of religious Orders promising boys are adopted, in the hope that, in due time, they may become useful members of the Order. But of these special ways to recruit the clergy there is no trace in the annals of the fifteenth century. Charitable and well-to-do ecclesiastics and laymen, interested in the education and welfare of young clergymen, had secured for them lasting assistance in the shape of benefices, whose revenues were to be applied according to their intention by the bishops or the Sovereign Pontiffs.

58. See Document 10. | 59. See Document 7.

It should also be noticed that no applicant could receive Holy Orders, if he was not in possession of one or more ecclesiastical benefices, whose revenues were sufficient to procure him an honest subsistence, unless he should have vowed, voluntary poverty in some religious Order. Even the ordination title of patrimony was admitted only through special dispensation.

The church benefices of various kinds were the ordinary, if not the only, material resources to keep up the temples of the Almighty, the houses of charity and the popular schools, together with the clergy and all persons devoted to the service of these establishments of Christian civilization. The ages of faith had, in their piety towards God and their love towards man, abundantly provided for all that was needed thereto, and the ecclesiastical superiors were charged with the bestowal of these church revenues, according to the founders' intentions and stipulations, and their own good judgment as to where they were the most needed or useful.

As at present, so at all times, there were quite a number of clergymen employed at the papal court, in the general and supreme administration of the Universal Church. The Roman benefices never were adequate to the needs of all these officials. They are today mainly provided for by a regular salary paid from the papal treasury, which is replenished by the filial contribution of St. Peter's Pence ; whereas, in the fifteenth century, the Popes were the poorest of all clergymen ; and their monthly accounts were often balanced by a deficit item. To support their clerical employees, the Roman Pontiffs were compelled to reserve or set apart many church properties in Italy, Spain and France and in other Catholic countries, the incomes of which they bestowed upon the members of their court. It is quite natural that the greater were the responsibilities and

the higher the positions of these officers, the more numerous also or the richer were to be the benefices and prebends they should enjoy, especially when they were cardinals " de curia ", or residing and laboring in the city of Rome ; for they needed handsome revenues to sustain their rank and cover the considerable expenses entailed by their necessary intercourse with kings and princes. We should not wonder too much, therefore, if many benefices and valuable prelacies were lavished upon a few, whose high extraction and extraordinary talents designated them for exalted positions in the Church, or who were raised already to the cardinalitial dignity.

The records of the first prebends granted by Alfonso de Borgia, as bishop of Valencia, to his young nephew Roderic, seem to exist no longer ; but we know that, in virtue of special authority received from both popes, Eugene IV and Nicholas V, the uncle, when he had become a cardinal, gave him, at an early age, a canonry and prebend in the cathedral of Barcelona [60]. Nor did we find any particulars of the benefices to which pope Eugene IV gave him a right of succession, or in the possession of which he ordered him to be introduced [61].

From a bull of April 12th, 1448, we learn that pope Nicholas V, shortly after his coronation, namely, on the 9th of April, 1447, reserved for Lewis John del Milà together with Roderic de Borgia, two canonries and their prebends, two other dignities and two provostships in the cathedral of Valencia, besides two more benefices in that city or its diocese. Through an oversight, he granted again, on the 13th of November of the same year, rights of succession to some of those dignities to the cardinal of St. Chrysogonus,

60. See Document 6.

61. See Document 7.

but corrected his mistake, on the 9th of the following January [62]. Finally, on the 12th of April, 1448, he issued a third bull, by which he directed either one of three prelates to give to the young clerics canonical possession of those benefices, as soon as they would become vacant, even if they should be reserved to the Holy See, and although Roderic was already admitted as a canon of Barcelona and held a chaplaincy in the cathedral of Valencia [63].

On the 11th of July of the same year 1447, the Pontiff dispensed Roderic de Borge, who was then only thirteen years old, of the impediment on account of his age, which, for a long time to come, would have debarred him from receiving certain higher dignities and richer benefices ; and he allowed him to accept, as soon as he would have completed his nineteenth year, as many benefices of whatever kind, as might be canonically offered to him, even though the care of souls were attached to them or even if they might be the first dignities after that of a bishop in any collegiate, cathedral or metropolitan church ; provided, however, that the incumbent duties or the care of souls should not be neglected [64].

A month later, on the 8th of August, the same Pope befriended again the two cousins, Lewis John del Milá, who was in his fifteenth year of age and already a canon of St. Mary's collegiate church of Xativa, and Roderic de Borge, in his fourteenth year and still simply a cleric of Valencia [65].

By his bull of April 12th, 1448, pope Nicholas V confirmed, in favor of Lewis John del Milà and of Roderic de Borgia, his former grant to each of them of the expectation of, or succession to, a canonry and its prebend, as also to a

62. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Nic. V de Curia, Lib. III, Regest. 408, fo 73.

63. See Document 6.
64. See Document 2.
65. See Document 3.

dignity or provostship and a benefice in the cathedral of Valencia, notwithstanding the fact that Roderic was already in possession, in that church, of a simple chaplaincy, worth a yearly income of twenty-two pound of Valencian money, and had, before that time, been admitted, in virtue of other papal reservations, as canon of the cathedral of Barcelona. It was stupilated that Lewis, the older, should be preferred for the first of these vacancies [66].

It did not take long before a vacancy occurred in the Valencian cathedral. Already before the 31st of August, 1448, Lewis John del Milà was the successor of the deceased canon Bartholomew Rovira, and Roderic de Borgia had become entitled to the next vacant canonry or other dignity. To this promotion and right, objections were made before the Roman court by other clerics of Valencia, who based their claims upon recent papal letters of general reservations given in their favor. But the Pontiff took the lawsuit into his own hands, recalled and annulled all his late reservations which might jeopardize the rights of cardinal Alfonso de Borgia's nephews, and confirmed the latter in their possessions and expectations, by his bull of the last mentioned date [67].

Peter Romei, another canon of Valencia, had died soon after, and his benefice with its income had been conferred on Roderic de Borgia. But on this occasion again, difficulties arose, and Roderic applied to the Pontiff. As a consequence, the cardinal of St. Chrysogonus resigned what title he might have to the canonry, and, on the 12th of January, 1449, pope Nicholas V reconfirmed the dignity upon Roderic, and ordered that his stall in the choir and his seat in the chapter room of the cathedral should be assigned to him, and that he should be introduced into actual possession of

66. See Document 6. | 67. See Document 7.

his benefice and of its prebend, which was valued at a yearly fifty pound of small tournois [68].

Only four days later, on the 16th of January, 1449, the Pontiff issued another bull in Roderic's behalf, by which he did not grant him any new dignities or revenues, but allowances that are worthy of note, in that they enable us to determine the time of his departure from Spain. The substance of the document is as follows : Nicholas etc. to our beloved son Roderic de Borgia, canon of Valencia, Health, etc. In view of your moral conduct and the merits of your virtuous life, and in consideration of Alfonso, cardinal priest of the Four Holy Crowned and bishop of Valencia, who has humbly begged Us for you, his beloved nephew, We feel disposed to grant you a special favor. At the request of the cardinal and of yourself, we herewith permit you to reside at the place of any of the benefices, which you now hold, or shall hold in the future ; or at the Roman court, employed in the service of the said cardinal ; or, when engaged in literary studies, at any locality where a university exists, and we allow you to receive the fruits and revenues of each and all of your benefices of any kind, as if you were living in the places to which they pertain ; without being obliged or liable to be compelled by anyone to reside in them. We, moreover, allow you to rent out all the beforesaid fruits and incomes to any, even lay persons, or to give them in lease for a yearly pension, during the time of your absence ; and we authorize those persons to accept them for rent or pension [69].

Evidently, there would be no reason for the issuance of such a document, if cardinal Alfonso de Borgia had not, at that time, desired his nephew to leave Spain, to stay with him for a while, and to prosecute at a regular university the

68. See Document 4.

69. See Document 5.

studies that should prepare him for a brilliant future. The wishes of Roderic agreed with those of his uncle, for it is stated that the request of the papal favor proceeded from both.

ARTICLE IV. — RODERIC AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BOLOGNA.

We have no authoritative information of the precise time at which Roderic de Borgia left Spain for Italy, but we know from a bull of Nicholas V that he was a student of canon law at the university of Bologna, when he was nineteen years of age, which was on the 22d of October, 1453 [70]. From this we may notice at once, among other errors, the one of Becchetti, who writes [71] that his maternal uncle, pope Calixtus III, had hardly ascended the pontifical throne, in the year 1455, when he called his nephew into Italy. The abbé Clément de Vebron equally mistakes [72] when he says that Calixtus III succeeded in moving his nephew from Spain to Rome, in the fall of the year 1456, when he was twenty-five years old.

Ximeno [73] indicates, in a general manner, the time of Roderic's removal from Spain, when he states that the cardinal, his uncle, brought him to Rome when he was yet a child, " niño ". He incidentally adds that Bartholomew Martí, who had already graduated as a doctor of theology, accompanied the youth on his voyage.

The time of Roderic de Borgia's arrival in Italy is more precisely determined by Jason de Mayno who, addressing, as orator of Milan, the newly crowned Pontiff, related [74]

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70. See Document 15.
71. Istor. degli ultimi quattro secoli della Chiesa, t. VI, p. 217.
72. Les Borgia, p. 73.
73. Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, t. I, p. 66.
74. Roma, Bibl. Vittor. Eman., Mss. Sessoriani Cod. 314, fiis 148, seqq.

that the event had taken place when, after finishing his humanities, he laid down the fringed robe, " praetexta ", or the dress of youth, worn by noble boys from their eleventh to their seventeenth year of age [75], and put on the gown of manhood. It will be noticed that this statement agrees with the date of the last reported bull of pope Nicholas V.

The same Mayno goes on to say that Roderic won the doctor's gown after seven years of brilliant studies in the city of Bologna. We will observe, farther on, that he returned to Rome towards the middle of the year 1455 ; and, as a consequence, he must have left Spain early in A. D. 1449, stayed but a few weeks with his uncle in Rome and then passed a considerable portion of that same year in Bologna.

We, finally, have a letter of pope Alexander VI himself, denoting the year in which he first landed in Italy. During the first days of the month of December, 1493, he wrote to Ludovico il Moro, regent of the duchy of Milan, urging him to save Italy from the threatened invasion of Charles VIII, king of France. As an argument to make him sever his alliance with the dreaded foreigner, the Pontiff mentioned the love which the prince should have for his native country, which he himself loved more than the land of his birth, he declared, because Italy had nourished him for forty-four years [76]. Deducting the number of these years from the date of the writing, we are led back once more to A. D. 1449.

From all these contemporary statements we may safely conclude that Roderic de Borgia left Spain as soon as he had reached a man's estate, a few days after the publication of the bull of pope Nicholas V which saved his benefices and revenues from the lawful consequences of non-residence.

As noticed a moment ago, he went, soon after, to Bologna,

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75. Chas. Anthon, Latin-English Diction., Art. Praetextatus.

76. « ...è peró quella terra che lo ha nutrito per ben quaranta-quattro anni » ; Leonetti, Papa Alessandro VI, vol. I, p. 460.

where he established his quarters in the Gregorian palace [77]; and he seems to have been treated well in that city; for, even after he had become Pope, he wrote to its " Reformatores " saying how, when studying canon law, he loved Bologna like a dear mother [78].

It is no wonder if Becchetti, who does not admit him into Italy before the year 1455, could not afford much time for Roderic to earn a doctor's degree in both civil and canon law, and accords him but a short while, " alquanto ", to tarry in Bologna ; but Gregorovius, whose authorities we do not know, relates, like Mayno, that he studied there for seven years [79], and, consequently, admits his arrival at the university in the year 1449. Another contemporary witness, Hartman Schedel, testifies [80] that " rhodoricus boria " spent many years at the bolognese literary gymnasium. Pastor, however, who blames the imagination of Clément de Vebron for the mistakes that we noticed already, does not, himself, allow the tyro but a few short months to acquire his wonderful science of law ; for he asserts [81] that Roderic was sent by his uncle, pope Calixtus III, to study jurisprudence, in the city of Bologna, during the month of June, 1455. To establish his contention, the great historian alleges a papal document [82], but a document falsified by the forged superscription on its reverse : " To the sixteen Reformators of the free state of Bologna ". The brief was actually directed to some lord of some city or castle, situated along the road which Roderic, with his cousin, the bishop of Segovia, was to follow, when, after visiting Rome to congratulate his

77. Ghirardacci, in Cod. 768 of the University library of Bologna ; ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I. s. 587 footn. 4.

78. Gozzadini, Giov. II Bentivoglio, p. 129 and Doc. LXXVII ; Pastor, ubi supra.

79. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 313.

80. Chronic. Liber, f° ccLVII^vo.

81. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 587.

82. See Document. 53.

uncle on his elevation to St. Peter's chair, he was returning to Bologna for the completion of his regular course of studies. The addressee is an individual, " dilecte fili ", whose possessions were lying between Rome and Bologna ; and the Pope requests and demands for his nephews a friendly reception and free passage, " transitum facient " through the territories and towns subject to the noble gentleman. Another document of a similar kind was issued in favor of Roderic, on the occasion of his last return from the university to Rome. The mistake of Dr. Pastor will become more apparent as we proceed with our narration.

Roderic de Borgia had been confirmed in his possession of a canonry in the cathedral of Valencia, and he had been granted also the right of succession to a provostship or some other dignity and one more benefice, in either the same cathedral or in the diocese of Valencia. Now, again his expectancies were contested, and he applied, once more, to the Sovereign Pontiff, who again confirmed, on the 21st of December, 1499, his former concessions in Roderic's favor [83].

At the death of Bartholomew Rovira, procurator general of the bishop in Valencia, who held the dignity of sacristan of the cathedral, Anthony Bou, one of the vicars general of that diocese, had, by authority of special letters patent of the bishop and cardinal Alfonso de Borgia, granted to Roderic, in the month of August, 1450, this dignity now become vacant. He had not, however, considered that, while the benefice was burdened with the care of souls, the Bolognese student could not accept it before attaining, according to a former dispensation, the age of twenty years, and had now completed his seventeenth year only. Aware of the impediment, the cardinal, his uncle, requested the Pontiff

83. See Document 8.

to further dispense his nephew on this particular occasion, and Pope Nicholas V not only granted the favor, but, on the 27th of October, 1450, he, for greater security, appointed directly the young man as sacristan of the Valencian cathedral, with the yearly income of three hundred pound Barcelonian money [84].

Not quite two months later, on the 23d of December, 1450, Roderic de Borgia was again honored and financially benefited by the acquisition of two dignities in St. Mary's collegiate church of his native place [85]. His elder cousin, Lewis John del Milà, had been in possession of a canonry and prebend and of the precentory of that church, but had left vacant those benefices on his promotion to another canonry in the same church and to the principal dignity, the deanery of its chapter. A certain Bernard Rovira immediately succeeded to him, but freely resigned those benefices, on the said 23d of December. In view of Roderic's meritorious virtues and in consideration of his most reverend maternal uncle, who had spoken to the Pontiff of his nephew's pious liberality, past and present, towards St. Mary's of Xativa, pope Nicholas V bestowed upon him both benefices: the canonry, bringing twenty-two pound Valencian money and the precentory, thirty-five, annually. The beneficiary being in Bologna, the letter of provision was sent on the 20th of the next following January, 1451, by cardinal Alfonso de Borgia, to the chapter of the collegiate church, to whom, by a letter of his own, he recommended to kindly admit his nephew [86].

The cardinal's letter was justly considered as an important document by H. Matagne [87], who knew of no other reliable information about Roderic de Borgia, anterior to

84. See Document 10.
85. See Document 12.
86. See Document 11.
87. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. IX, p. 469.

the month of June, 1455. Nor is that message itself fully reliable, after passing through the hands of H. de l'Epinois, who misinterprets it by saying [88] that the appointment was made, " nommé ", by the cardinal.

Money was needed by the university student, who was to keep up his rank as a nobleman and a cardinal's nephew among his companions, many of whom were the sons of prominent and princely houses of all Italy and neighboring countries. Fortunately, he had an efficient advocate by the Supreme Pontiff's side. His uncle interceded for him again in the beginning of the following year and, on March 9th, 1451, Roderic obtained from pope Nicholas V a canonry and prebend in the cathedral of Urgel, together with an attached simple benefice, the weighage of Desmurro in the same diocese. The motives of the papal liberality were the same as on former occasions of the kind, and the noble extraction of the young man was another incentive. By this concession Roderic's credit increased by the yearly sum of forty pounds of Valencian money [89].

We did not find the special records of any more benefices bestowed upon him before the 22d of October, 1453 ; but on this date the Pope issued another bull in his favor, wherein it is stated that he was now studying canon law in Bologna, and was in his twentieth year of age. From this document we further learn that he had formerly obtained the expectancies, and papal orders of provision or investment, for three ecclesiastical benefices in the dioceses of Valencia, Segorve and Albarazin, which would be the first to become vacant. At this time pope Nicholas V granted him the first dignity, the deanery of the collegiate church of Catalbano, in the diocese of Randazzo united with that of Saragossa ; besides this, he received a benefice, called the archpresbytery, in the

88. Ibid., t. XXIX, p. 365.

89. See Document 9.

Augustinian church of Saragossa. The deanery with its appurtenances yielded a yearly revenue of one hundred pounds small tournois, and the benefice with its belongings, one hundred and eighty [90]. The possession of these benefices was contested, but the Pope issued, on the 9th of January, 1454, a brief threatening the detainers with ecclesiastical censures, should they any longer refuse to pay the incomes to the legitimate appointee [91].

It seems that Roderic de Borgia took, already early in life, an interest in the welfare of his nephew Jofre Lançol, afterwards de Borgia, who continued to be his favorite relative , for, on the 30th of January, 1454, he had resigned, in behalf of the latter, the precentory and attached canonry, which he had held in Xativa [92].

This act of liberality was richly rewarded the same year, by the concession of another and better benefice. By a bull of the 3d of October, 1454, Roderic received one of three benefices lately reserved for him, namely, the parochial church de Cullera, or of Sucero, in the diocese of Valencia, the revenues of which amounted to four hundred and fifty pound small tournois. His right of possession being, as usually, doubted, the Pontiff, on that date, ratified with apostolic authority the provision, probably made by the bishop of Valencia or in his name ; and he again confirmed the possession of Roderic de Boria, who is here also stated to be then studying law at the university of Bologna [93]. Let us anticipate the remark that this fat benefice was still further contested, but again without success ; for the papal tribunal, on the 5th of December, 1455, decided in favor of the appointee of pope Nicholas V [94].

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90. See Document 15.
91. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Nicol. de Curia, Lib XXIII, Regest. 428, fo 241.
92. See Document 13 and 14.
93. See Document 16.
94. Archiv. Secret. Vatic : Cal. III, De Curia, Reg. 440, fo 309vo.

The 8th of April, 1455, was a most auspicious day for the Borgia house and for Roderic in particular ; for, on that day, his mother's brother ascended the papal throne, under the name of Calixtus III.

After a few days, the news of this important event reached the ears of the student of Bologna, who justly deemed it his duty to go and congratulate the new Pontiff and beg his blessing. It should be no wonder if the happy nephew was full of hope and confidence in the future ; nor was he disappointed in his expectations.

He had long since enjoyed the minor title of commensal member of cardinal de Borgia's household ; but, only a few days after his coronation, pope Calixtus III named him, on the 10th of May, 1455, a prothonotary apostolic, thus introducing him among the highest clergymen of the Roman court, and paving his way to the cardinalitial dignity itself.

In his bull the Pontiff first recites how Roderic is adorned with the nobility of his house, the knowledge of letters and the luster of virtue ; he mentions his intention to devote himsel to the service of the Pope and of the Roman Church, and states him to be his nephew and born of noble and knightly parents ; and he then admits him as a notary of his own and of the apostolic See, with full right to all customary emoluments and privileges. He requires him, however, to take the usual oath of fealty before assuming the office or insignia of the important dignity[95]. The oath was taken on the 15th of the next month of June [96].

While he was visiting in Rome, Roderic met a prelate, Berengarius de Sos, dean of St Mary's collegiate church of Xativa ; and, wishing to possess this deanery of his native town, rather than the one he was holding in Catalbano

95. See Document 54a. Cfr. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 587 ; Fita Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 195.

96. See Document 54b.

together with the archpresbytery of Saragossa, he agreed with de Sos upon a mutual exchange of the two dignities ; and the Pope accepted the preliminary resignations of both and, on the 7th of June, 1455, conceded to his nephew, in particular, the Xativa deanery, which had a yearly income of three hundred pound Barcelonian money [97]. Pastor slightly mistakes [98] in reading the date of this grant as 1455, Tercio non. Jun. [99].

His presence at the Roman court had proved to be an occasion of great benefit to Roderic de Borgia ; but he could not afford to miss the most advanced lectures of his professors and to forego the academic honors, for the reception of which he was almost prepared. He, therefore, obtained leave to return to his Alma Mater. This time he was to travel in the company of his cousin, Lewis John del Milà, who had just been appointed, on June 13th, 1455, as governor of Bologna. Their uncle prepared for them a safe journey by giving them, on the 17th of June, 1455, a general free pass, by which he exempted the governor, Lewis John del Milà, the prothonotary, Roderic de Borgia, their companions, the orator of Bologna, and their servants, to the number of one hundred, from the payment of all taxes, tolls and dues on their way through his and his feudatories' States. He ordered all captains and condottieri of the papal army to protect them from any attack or molestation, and to provide them with an escort, as often as they might be requested to do so [100].

On the following day, he confided to them a private brief, to be shown successively to the lords and vassals of the Church, through whose territories they were to travel,

97. Archiv. Secret Vatic. Cal. III, de Curia, Ann. I, t. I, Regest. 436 f° 239.

98. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 587, footn. 3.

99. It is : « Septimo Id. Junii a° I° ».

100. See Documnt 53a.

requesting and requiring each one of these to make as pleasant as possible the trip of his nephews and of their company [101].

They arrived in Bologna on the 29th of the same month and were honorably received [102].

We may readily presume that Roderic attentively listened to his teachers and pondered over his notes and manuscripts, in preparation for the test of his science, before thé award of the academic degree ; all the more since we will hereafter find evidences of his earnest disposition and aversion to all games. He passed his recreation time in learned discussions, or in conversation with his cousin and other friends.

Of one of these we found the name in a curious manner : Muzzi relates [103] that, when the prothonotary had become pope Alexander VI, the lord of Bologna, Giovanni Bentivoglio, was summoned to Rome, to free himself of certain accusations ; but the tyrant, instead of obeying his suzerain, incited the five best speakers of his city to inveigh against him ; and Floriano Dolfi delivered a harangue so violent that Bentivoglio found it worthy of being printed and distributed. When the Pope had read it, he sent word to the orator, saying that he was astonished at it; " because they both had been fellow students in Bologna and old friends ".

It is contested by no one, but passed in silence by many historians, that Roderic de Borgia was one of the most virtuous and talented students of the great university. To few, Mayno says, when publicly addressing the newly-crowned pope Alexander VI, to few it is given to excel both by acumen of intellect and by retentiveness of memory ; but in thee have those qualities been so abundantly united, that it is difficult to determine by which one thou art the more

101. See Document 53b.
102. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 587.
103. Annal. di Bologna t. V, p. 436.

eminent [104]. Aeneas Sylvius wrote of him that, although a young man, Roderic was old in manners and prudence and full of knowledge like his uncle [105]. After stating that he studied in Bologna, Hartman Schedel added immediately [106], that he was gifted with such uncommon virtue, learning and proficiency in all things, that he was necessarily soon elevated to the cardinalitial dignity. Escolano reports [107] how pope Calixtus honored him with a cardinal's hat, because of his elegant manners and his proficiency in Law. We have, moreover, noticed, a moment ago, that the Pontiff, his uncle, ventured to speak of his virtue and knowledge even before he had left the university's benches.

The testimony of those contemporaries is expressly admitted by Ciaconius, who reports [108] that Roderic corresponded to his uncle's care, by making an excellent course of studies, and Ximeno has found [109] that, at leaving school, he was honored with an unusual title, graduating not simply as Doctor of Law, but as " The most eminent and judicious Jurisprudent ".

We did not learn the exact time at which the distinction was conferred upon him, but we know that he remained in Bologna till the fall of the year 1456, although the passport for his return to Rome, at any time, had been made out in due form by the papal curia at his latest departure, on the 16th of June, 1455. The parchment extended free passage to him and thirty companions, together with their horses and belongings, and exemption of all tolls and taxes by land and by water [110].

It seems, however, that, already before leaving Bologna,

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104. Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Eman., Cod. Sessorian. 314, post fm 148.
105. De Situ etc. Germaniae, ap. Voigt, Enea Silvio, Bd. III, s. 510,, note.
106. Chronic. Liber, fo ccLVII.
107. Hist. de Valencia, vol. II, Lib. VI, cap. XXIII col. 201.
108. Vitae Rom. Pontiff., p. 147.
109. Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, t. I, p. 66.
110. See Document 55.

he was doing work for the Pontiff and the Holy See. In consideration of the satisfactory services which he had rendered and continued to render with care and devotion to him and to the Church, as also of his virtuous life, pope Calixtus III granted to his notary, Roderic Boria, a canonry and prebend and an office, called the archpresbytery, in the cathedral of the united dioceses of Segorve and Albarazin, on the 28th of January, 1456. The two benefices together were bringing a yearly income of one hundred pound tournois [111].

Towards the end of A. D. 1455 or in the beginning of the following year, the Pope, declaring that he knew from personal experience as well as from reliable witnesses, the virtues and qualities of his young prothonotary, bestowed upon him the parish of Quart in the diocese of Valencia, worth two hundred pound small tournois [112].

111. See Document 56.
112. Archiv. Secret Vatic. Cal. III, De Curia, Ann. I, t. VI, Regest. 441, fo 38vo.

CHAPTER II

Roderic de Borgia created a Cardinal.

The 20th day of February, 1456, marked an epoch in the career and history of Roderic de Borgia, for on that day he was created a cardinal. His elevation was no surprise, as we see from a letter of Filippo de' Medici, archbishop of Pisa, who wrote from Rome, on the 19th of November, 1455 [1], that he was expected to receive the hat before the end of that year. Pope Calixtus III intended, indeed, to name cardinals his nephews, Lewis John del Milà and Roderic de Borgia, together with an infante of Portugal ; but he considered long and carefully this important step. Then he asked the opinion of every cardinal present in Rome, and, as the bishop of Ostia, George de Flisco, was unable through sickness to go to the Vatican, he sent to him two other cardinals, to obtain the desired advice. All, without a single exception, were in favor of Roderic's promotion, as it is stated by the signature of each of them.

Gregorovius disregards the facts, when asserting [2] that the three prominent cardinals, Capranica, Estouteville and Bessarion contradicted, but in vain. Pastor is not so explicit, but cannot refrain from insinuating that, already two months before, the Pope met with opposition to his project [3] ; and soon after [4], he gratuitously affirms it to be no wonder if the better-meaning cardinals raised a violent opposition to the advancement of such a man. Nor does he

1. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 588, footn. 1.
2. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 153.
3. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 588.
4. Ibid., p. 591.

offer any more authority, when adding the ridiculous remark, that the adverse party gave in after all, in the hope of Calixtus' death before the nomination should be published ; although they were, at the same time, sanctioning with their own hands the absolute needlessness, in such an event, of any papal publication, to confirm Roderic in his cardinalitial honors, rights and faculties [5].

The Pontiff finally announced a secret consistory for the 20th of February, 1456, in which the prothonotary de Borgia was proclaimed a cardinal deacon ; but the publication of the appointment was postponed, and the cardinals were ordered not to reveal it [6], although members of the papal household had noticed indications of what had come to pass.

These proceedings were not novel. The cardinals Ram and Capranica, and afterwards, Prospero Colonna and Giuliano Caesarini had been created in the same manner [7]. In the same way were also nominated, a few decades later, Mapheus Gerardus, patriarch of Venice and Frederic Sanseverini [8] ; and, ever since, until this day, some most worthy men have been named cardinals " in petto ". Gregorovius and Pastor [9] should not have found in the term, secret consistory, an occasion to insinuate that Roderic de Borgia was, as it were, smuggled into the Sacred College, with all secrecy, or, as we would say, in the dead of night. The consistory was called secret, because devoid of the usual solemnities and publicity ; but it is clearly expressed that all the cardinals were present on this occasion.

By the bull of nomination, which was there read and subscribed, the Pontiff first allowed the new cardinal to

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5. See Document 57, ad finem
6. Gobellinus, Pii II, Commentarii, p. 26.
7. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 199.
8. Munich, K. Staatsbibl. Cod. Lat. 716, fo 124 ; Liber Hartmanni Schedel.
9. Both ubi supra.

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succession to others. In order to secure to his nephew the retain all the benefices in his possession and his rights of title church which he had himself governed and loved for the last five years [10], pope Calixtus next assigned to him the church of St. Nicholas in the Tulian prison, although it was a custom to give their title to newly-created cardinals a few days after their nomination. The Pope, finally, prescribed that, should he die before the solemn publication of this promotion would be made, Roderic must immediately be considered by the Sacred College as a duly published cardinal, and admitted to the conclave as an elector of the next Pontiff. The document was then signed by him and by every cardinal present.

The next following concession to Roderic de Borgia was not so much an honor or dignity as it was a difficult and responsible charge of administration under sad and serious circumstances. Pope Calixtus III wrote, on the 21st of August, 1456, to the abbot of the monastery of St. Nazarius of Vercelli, that, through public fame, he had learned that an Augustinian canon regular had invaded the rectory of St. Andrew's hospital in Vercelli, and was living in concubinage, applying to evil purposes the revenues of the institution intended for the relief of the poor, and generally giving scandal to many. The Pope had looked around for a man fit to repair the evil done, and had found the lord Roderic de Borgia, his notary, so richly adorned with honesty of morals and other virtues, that he ordered the abbot to summarily, " de plano ", examine the case ; and, should he find the culprit guilty, to depose him and to introduce into the possession of the administration Roderic or his procurator [11].

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10. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Nic. V, De Curia, Lib. XIX, Regest. 424, fo 248vo.

11. See Document 58.

The formal, though unimportant publication of the new cardinals took place in the month of September, 1456, in the presence of a few members of the Sacred College, " paucis cardinalibus adstantibus ", while the others had fled from the heat of the City [12]. Panvinio [13] and, after him, Ciaconius [14], both of whom confound Roderic's creation with his publication, as also Gregorovius [15], give the date as September the 21st, and Çurita [16] reports the 22d of that month. Again Ximeno [17] mistakes when he relates that his uncle bestowed on Roderic the cardinal's hat, at his first creation of cardinals, on the 18th of September, 1456. Still further, Pastor seems to prove in a satisfactory manner, that the publication was made on the 17th, by referring to several sources, valuable, indeed, but not sufficiently defined, and especially to a brief of pope Calixtus III said to be given the XVII Sept. 1456, and stating that he had " hodie ", on that day, published his nephews as cardinals [18]. We suspect, however, some error in the reading of the " XVII ", perhaps the " VII " only ; or of " hodie " for " his diebus ", or some other mistake in the alleged authorities ; and we have come to the conclusion that Roderic de Borgia was officially declared a cardinal some time between the 21st of August and the 9th of September, 1456. The reason of our conviction is, that, on the former day, be was still designated by the

12. Gobellinus, Pii II, Commentarii, p. 26.
13. Vita Alexandri VI, Initio.
14. Vitae Roman. Pontiff., p. 147.
15. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 148.
16. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, t. IV, fo 44vo.
17. Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, t. I, p. 67.
18. Gesch der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 591, footn. 4. We here copy his extract : « Cum non ignoremus nobilitates vestras duobus nepotibus nostris, quos istic apud vos habemus, esse affectas tum pro vestra erga nos devocione et reverentia tum quia iidem istius nostre civitatis alumni eidemque plurimum affecti existunt, vobis nunciamus, quod hodie eosdem nepotes nostros, quos antea de venerab. fratrum nostrorum s. Romane ecclesie cardinalium consilio in cardinales assumpseramus, ut tales publicavimus ».

Pope and his curia as simply " Lord Roderic de Borgia, our notary ", as was just noticed ; while he is already styled Roderic, cardinal deacon of St. Nicholas in the Tulian prison, evidently after the publication, on " 5 Id. Sept ", or the 9th of September, 1456, " aº 2º ".

On this day, indeed, Roderic, cardinal of that title, received from the Pontiff the deanery of the chapter of Cartagena, a first dignity below that of the bishop, together with several yearly contributions, " praestimonia ", or portions of them and also simple benefices in the same city and its diocese [19].

The new cardinals, Roderic and his cousin, Lewis John del Milà, left Bologna on the 18th of October, 1456, made their solemn entry into Rome and received the red hat a few days after, on the 17th of November. On the 26th the ceremony of the opening of the mouth took place [20].

Roderic de Borgia had thus been admitted as an actual, full member of the Sacred College, with the unanimous approval and advice of his venerable colleagues ; but without the consent of several later historians. Pastor even dares to accuse [21] of injustice the Pope and his advisers, for exalting to the high dignity and power a man who had not as yet accomplished anything , and was too young, being then only twenty-five years old [22], and, especially, who was an immoral and vicious man, he says [23]. To be just, a historian must take into consideration the customs and conditions of the time of which he writes. Today the cardinalitial honors are mostly granted to men advanced in age, in recognition of some notable good work, or of long faithful services ; but such were generally made cardinals, in the fifteenth century, as gave good reasons to expect from them valuable

19. See Document 50.
20. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s 591, 592, footn. 1.
21. Ibid., s. 588.
22. He actually was but twenty-four.
23. Ubi supra.

assistance to the reigning Pontiff and to the Church in general, through their powerful or princely affiliations, or their virtue, activity and profound learning.

This was the case with Roderic de Borgia. Aeneas Sylvius, afterwards pope Pius II, wrote [24] of him and his companions of honor : " Although they are somewhat young for so high a dignity, the distinction was not unjustly bestowed upon them, endowed as they are with learning, prudence and elegant manners ". He wrote likewise to the German grand-chancellor, Meyer : " Cardinal Roderic is young, it is true, but his conduct and good sense add years to his age ." [25]. This testimony of cardinal Roderic's senior colleague is further confirmed by another eminent contemporary ; for Hartman Schedel, when relating that Roderic was very young at his promotion to the cardinalate, explains by stating that he was known to be more advanced, " maturior ", in virtue than in age or dignities [26].

What a striking contrast of statements between that old German eyewitness and the younger German historian, who, in setting forth the burden of his indictment, hides behind a German cardinal of the nineteenth century, who, after all, can be but a feather in the scales, if placed over against the cardinals of the fifteenth century, who unanimously admitted Roderic de Borgia into their own elevated rank, or against the other cardinals of the fifteenth century, who, as we shall hereafter notice, unanimously elected him as their Sovereign.

Roderic de Borgia was an immoral and vicious man, Pastor says, when mentioning his name the first time, before making any the least accusation against him, while he feels in honor bound to acknowledge that no unfavorable comment on his conduct, even during his uncle's pontificate has " till

24. Hist. de Europa, Cap. LVIII.
25. de l'Epinois, Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 384.
26. Munich, K. Staatsbibl. Cod. Lat. 716 ; Liber Hartmanni Schedel, fo 124.

this day " come to light. By thus setting out like a public prosecuting attorney, the historian, who ought to condemn him only after having proved him guilty, exposes himself to a legitimate suspicion of prejudice.

That Pastor was biassed, when assuming to reprove pope Calixtus III for making a cardinal of " such a man ", is evident. But, what was the cause of his prejudice ? It is quite a puzzle, for he knew but two or three documents relating to Roderic's twenty-three first years of life, each of which praises him. Pastor did not even know his family name. Whence the prejudice, that prevented him and, in fact, several more historians, from discussing, but led them to exaggerate, the single plausible blame ever set forth against the moral character of pope Alexander VI ? Who are the reliable witnesses that so completely captivated their judgment, as to make them accept without any test of historical criticism or of the rules of diplomatics, lately discovered documents, false on their face, against the Pontiff's memory?

So thoroughly do they seem to be persuaded, that they have become arrogant, impatient of contradiction. Immediately after setting forth his arraignment before the bench, Pastor [27] solemnly—pompously, Fita says [28]— warns every lawyer for the defense not to contest the charges, but to let the accused be hanged without any further word in his favor ; because to speak for him would be a crime against historical truth, of which he himself is to utter the final word. To trespass against his earnest admonition would, moreover, be perfectly useless, as he proves by the " failure of Leonetti's Apology ", although this work is an honest defense, which, if not quite satisfactory, is, in several of its parts, based upon better authority than are many of Pastor's

27. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 588.

28. Estudios Hist., t. VI, p. 94.

assertions. Another reason why we should not contradict him is that the lately published Osuna documents have, he says, forever rendered impossible a rehabilitation of Alexander VI. The reader will, however, remember that we have already demonstrated [29] the unreliability, the falsity and even the forgery of those documents. Pastor finally asserts that some other testimonies are at hand against the Pontiff, which defy any attempt at refutation ; and he significantly adds that to these belong his shameful relations with Vanozza de' Catanei. This last assertion hands us the key to the solution of our puzzle.

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29 Supra, vol. I, Appendix.

CHAPTER III

Stupid tales about pope Alexander VI.

We have failed to discover in the writings of any contemporary of pope Alexander VI or of any subsequent historian, any specific information of either the young Roderic, the cardinal de Borgia, or pope Alexander VI, having, on any particular occasion, been seen in the company of any Vannoza, of having ever spoken to her, or of having ever looked at her. Even the late Gregorovius knows of no such an incident, although he is well acquainted with the Pope's imputed accomplice, since he minutely describes the furniture of her residence and the features of her person, suiting his ideal of female beauty [1]. He, like Pastor and all other enemies of the slandered Pontiff, vents his hatred in gross, but unproved and unprovable generalities against his morality.

There exists, however, a booklet in which Pastor may have found specified reasons for his reproof of pope Calixtus III, a story of Roderic's pretended debaucheries and total depravity. This book is an anonymous manuscript of one hundred and twenty pages in quarto, under the catchy title of " Vita di Don etc. ", " A Life of Don Roderigo Borgia, afterwards pope Alexander VI, and of Cesar Borgia and brothers, sons of the above said Pontiff, together with the Memoirs of the most hidden events that took place during the above-said Pontificate, the whole of it drawn from the manuscripts of the Vatican Library ".

The last commendation is simply an untruth, unless it

1. Lucrezia Borgia, Bd. I, s. | 11, 15.

should mean that the present copy was a transcript from another, slipped in among the treasures of that library.

It was evidently composed or inspired by a man, whom his hatred of the late Alexander VI had deprived of common sense ; and it was written at a time when Italian tyrants and barons, whom that Pope chastised, and other complainants of his administration and reforms could with impunity take revenge on him, in the usual way of besmirching his moral character. No printer would lower himself by casting the lampoon upon his press, but it was reduplicated by hand over and over again. Although we were not seeking for it, several of its manuscript copies occurred to our view in Roman libraries. One is at the Bibliotheca Vallicellana, as Codex P. 201, and another, which was once treasured up by the Jesuit Fathers, now lies at the Vittorio Emmanuele library, under the signature of Ms. Jesuiticum n° 1558 (3687). Besides these two that are fairly similar, we shall notice other copies sufficiently unlike to be called improved and enlarged, or, even, free imitations ; but if one may appear, more stupid than another, they all agree in the same scope and method of slander. Such are Cod. 1641 in the Urbinate Vaticana Library : " Il Giornale di PP. Alesso 6° ", and Codices 149 and 1263 in the Roman Corsiniana library.

Supported by a number of forgeries intended for the same purpose, the scattered pamphlet created, as lately did the nonsense of Darwin, a " furore ", a literary fashion, of which no writer could venture to declare himself free. For three or four centuries no defender of the maligned Pope dared to stand up against the lampoon ; and, until this very day, neither his enemies nor his friends have had the courage to cast of the spell. Father M. Olivier [2] and Clément de Vebron [3] have become romancers, and defeated the main

2. Le Pape Alexandre VI et les Borgia.

3. Les Borgia.

portion of their labor, by allowing their imagination to set out from the statements of this manuscript. Yet, strange to say, no historian has ever mentioned it as an authority for his copied bitter reports. And well and prudently was the original left in its deserved darkness, nor would we ourselves disturb its repose in a coat of dust, were it not for the baneful influence which it has exerted upon subsequent writers.

Before offering to the consideration of our readers the most important passages of the pamphlet, we must require their credulity in a man's mysterious bilocation lasting many years, and their firm belief in that man's dual identity in double and antagonistic action ; else they must necessarily find the whole story to be a physical impossibility. Indeed, Matagne, who admits Roderic de Borgia's early destination for the clerical state of life, noticing that he received, shortly after the age of fourteen years, the benefice of grand-chantre at the collegiate church of Xativa, doubts[4] whether his ecclesiastical career was ever interrupted. Had the learned Bollandist known that the young man had been, at short intervals, favored with church revenues and dignities, from his infancy till his manhood, and had been listening on the college and the university benches, till he was proclaimed a cardinal, he would not have doubted, but clearly seen that there never was any possible space of time for him, to engage in any other pursuit or profession.

We are confident of having told this far, guided as we were by authentic documents, a truthful and fairly complete history of the first third-part of Roderic de Borgia's life ; but we must also now sacrifice some time to consider a quite different story of his youth and early manhood.

In one of its first folios the anonymous pamphlet states

4. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. IX, p. 469.

that " Roderic's father, Goffredo Borgia, had led many caravans for the kings of Spain, occupied the highest positions at their court, commanded many castles, and had, after long year's service, gathered great wealth ".

Historians have neglected these particulars, which, in fact, are not probable.

" Among several of his sons there was Roderic, who loved sciences and letters, and also proved to be a genius for war and arms ; for, when yet a little boy, he used to go hunting with the luxuries of an arquebuse, a pistol and a poniard. " Si dice ", it is said that, " when twelve years old, he killed a boy of his age, but of low birth, stabbing him several times in the intestines with his poniard, because the child had addressed to him a few disrespectful words, which were perhaps instigated by the little rascal's own parents, to correct Roderic of his forwardness. This was the first exploit of his ferocity, the first evident token of how, growing in years, he would become another devil Lucifer, and finally the most sanguinary, the most cruel barbarian that the world could conceive ".

This is a pretty rude thrust on the pious and diligent schoolboy, as we have found Roderic to be ; and it is also an original pattern for subsequent revilers of the Borgias. After reading the indictment we had a right to look next for the arm of justice, taking the juvenile criminal to a reform school ; but we are left to suppose that the judge was corrupted, some jurymen bribed, or the prosecuting attorney silenced with " graft. " The pamphleteer himself was not, however, devoid of all sentiment of justice, for he explicitly remarks that young Borgia's father—who, by the way, was dead and buried years before—ought to have punished his son for the murder ; but he tamely adds that he dropped the affair without any resentment, as if his son had done

a favor to his victim ; and such, it seems from the manuscript, was the opinion of the rest of the world. We shall make but one remark, namely that this interesting detail was too romantic for historians to copy.

" His father, Goffredo Borgia (of blessed memory), was making a large fortune, by conducting, in the name of the Spanish Crown, many caravans—whether mercantile or diplomatic, is not stated. He kept his son at school till he was eighteen years old, and then confided to him the management of his own business ; and Roderic took it up and attended to it with great diligence and a prudence worthy of an old man ".

These his first activities in Spain are all the more remarkable, because he was in Italy at that very time, engaged in studying law at the university of Bologna. A vague remembrance of this latter fact may have led the writer to continue with the puzzling assertions that follow :

" When he grew older, he privately and publicly gave proof of his genius in the handling of cases at law, and defended many clients, called in turn at many castles, and was rewarded with numerous incomes, which he derived from " benefices " (!) " But he turned away his mind from the ecclesiastical career, put aside all his books and resolved to become a knight and travel as his father had done ".

Whatever all this may signify, it certainly must have happened about the time that Roderic became a Roman cardinal.

Bower [5] but slightly contradicts his original, by omitting Roderic's first employment as his dead father's agent ; yet admits the pamphlet, when he says that at the age of eighteen years he betook himself to the study of law, and was, in a very short time, employed as an advocate in the

5. History of the Popes, vol. 3, p. 259.

most intricate cases, and acquired by that means a considerable fortune ; but soon grew tired of law and appeared in the world in a military character. Reumont [6] admits both the vocations of law and of arms, while the Encyclopedia Britannica [7] concedes only either one, and strangely prefers the practice of law. Yet, a variant copy of the manuscript, kept as Codex 1641, in the Urbinate Vatican Library, very precisely relates [8] that already in his tenderest years he girded the sword, in the service of the grand-duke of Sanseverino, who was then in Spain in conference with the King.

The original, less definite, reports only that Roderic was, at times, seen marching in the uniform of a soldier going to war [9]. The later historian, Dennistoun [10] asserts that his youth was spent in arms, and Roselly de Lorgues [11] thinks the evil repute of pope Alexander VI to have been caused by the confusion of his life as a soldier with his unblemished conduct as a Pope.

Father Olivier needed and eagerly embraced the theory of Roderic de Borgia's military career, to build upon it the romance of his " Le Pape Alexandre VI et les Borgia " · and so also did Clément de Vebron make use of it in writing his defense of that Pontiff's moral character, in the beginning of his " Les Borgia ". H. de l'Epinois [12] further mentions the late historians, Cerri, Rohrbacher [13] and Mgr Févre, as adherents, in this question, to the anonymous manuscript. Chantrel [14], Jorry [15], Wensing [16] and others might be added

6. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, III, 201.
7. Art. Alexander VI.
8. fo 132vo.
9. See Ms. Jesuiticum.
10. Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, vol. I, p. 302.
11. Crist. Columb. I, 327
12. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 365.
13. Hist. Univers. de l'Eglise, t. 22, p. 340.
14. Le Pape Alexandre VI, p. 39.
15. Hist. du Pape Alexandre VI, p. 14.
16. Paus Alexander VI, bl. 28.

to the list of deceived recent writers. Even Mgr Loughlin [17] still believed Rodrigo Borgia to have chosen the army for his calling ; and, as a consequence, made several more misstatements.

H. de l'Epinois, however, assures us that their opinion rests upon no text, that is, upon no good authority, and Matagne justly declares [18] that the old pamphlet's free copy, the Casanatense manuscript, quoted by Olivier, is, as commended by Olivier himself, unworthy of consideration. The learned Bollandist [19] further writes : Before Gordon there is no printed history to say a word of Roderic's military life ; Burchard, Guicciardini, Jovius, Panvinio, Çurita, Bzovius, Tomasi, Raynaldi, Mariana, Alexander : all are silent about it. Before Gordon, that is, before A. D. 1729, no one hints at it. Several writers, not knowing his worthlessness, have copied his stories, without adding any weight to them. Yet, neither, Novaes, the historian of the Popes, nor Cardella, the historian of the cardinals ; nor Moroni, nor Gregorovius, nor, we may add, Pastor have paid any attention to Gordon. And wisely so.

After showing that Roderic de Borgia never had either time or occasion to follow a military career, we may remove the last shadow of doubt, by adducing the testimony of pope Alexander VI himself. When, in the year 1500, he dispatched the cardinal of Santa Maria Nova to Maximilian, the German emperor-elect, he gave him written instructions, according to which the legate was to propose, in the name of the Pope, certain plans for warfare of the Christians against the terrible Turks ; yet, he was ordered to make the apologizing remark, that " the Pontiff had scarcely the faintest idea of the science of war, since he had been engaged

17. The Americ. Cathol. Quart. Rev. An. 1900, p. 253.

18. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XI, p. 182.

19. Ibid., p. 194.

in matters of religion and had not followed military camps " [20]. He makes use of the same expression in the Instructions given to his legate to the king of Hungary [21] ; and to the king of Spain he writes : " Having been from the beginning of our life, initiated in sacred functions, to which we have always given our attention, and being, at last, placed in this sacred and pontifical chair, We cannot, now that our years become more and more burdensome, treat of anything less than arms and of military concerns " [22].

The Urbinate version of the pamphlet states that Roderic, one day, cast aside the soldier's uniform and assumed the costume of a page, which Dennistoun [23] afterwards explains, by saying that he had received a page's appointment at the court of Alfonso V. We will let this pass with the simple remark that court pages were generally boys and youths of high nobility, and no war veterans.

The same Urbinate manuscript and Dennistoun notice a third metamorphosis, namely, when soon after, Roderic, complying with the wishes of his parents, took on the garb of a churchman.

We have seen before this, how he was admitted as one of the Valencian clergy when still a small boy.

The Jesuit version does not mention these last changes of dress, and reports Roderic to be doing nothing about that time, but making himself a slave to gambling and other sports. Idleness, moreover, led him to luxury, the lampoon says.

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20. Licet vel minimam rerum bellicarum peritiam habeamus, utpote qui sacra secuti sumus et non castra. — Archivii Vaticani Ms., Instructiones Diversae, XXX, II, 30, f° 148vo.

21. Bibl. Vaticana, Ottoboniana, Cod. 2726, f° 197 ; and Urbinate Cod. 864, f° 187.

22. « Ab ineunte aetate sacris initiati, iisque semper intenti, et in hac demum sacrosancta pontificalique Sede locati, ingravescentibus annis, nihil minus quam arma et res bellicas tractare possumus », Baluzius, Miscellanea, t. III, p. 423.

23. Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino vol. I, p. 302.

And here, all the anonymous copies start the long scandalous stories, which, after being made less incredible by the curtailment of their details, are still rehearsed, even by learned men, until this very day. Our notes were mainly taken from the Jesuit Codex, which we shall, therefore, generally follow in our translation.

" Don Rodrigo was in Spain at that time [24] and twenty-eight years old " [25].

These two items are small, but, should have received more attention from the historians hostile to pope Alexander VI, who, by unanimously reporting that Roderic was then at the Roman court, having been a cardinal for more than five years, singularly invalidate the following tale, from which they draw, directly or indirectly, their principal charges against that Pontiff.

" There and then Don Rodrigo fell in love with a noble lady of his country, who had two daughters, and whilst he was abusing the mother, her daughters grew up, and he abandoned himself also to amours with the one and the other, to the great wonderment of all that observed his ways. He was so utterly given over to lust, that he left all other occupations, to be the governor of that family ".

The modern historians, with the exception of Gordon [26] and Bower [27], have considered this charge of double incest as too exaggerated to bear narration , and have contented themselves with the rest of the story.

" It was God's will that the mother should die, and of the two young women Don Rodrigo placed one in a convent, and kept the other in lieu of a wife. He now became so very secret in his doings that no one could discover any longer the truth about his conduct, which he misrepresented

24. Cod. Urbin., f° 133.
25. Cod. Vallicel., f° 6.
26. Alex. VI, t. I, p. 5.
27 History of the Popes, vol. 3, p. 259.

in divers ways. He passed many years that way, with the result that, as time went on, that lady, called Virginia Vanoccia, or Vanocci [28], brought to light five children of her paramour ".

We might here make the remark, that the name of Roderic's pretended concubine was totally different from that of Lucretia de Borgia's mother, Vanotia Borgia de Cathaneis ; and this other, that Virginia Vannoci was not a Roman prostitute, as Raynaldi calls her [29]. Dandolo, who also made use of the manuscript, felt the need of another kind of Vannoccia and wrote [30] : " Roderic Lenzuoli (de Borgia), born at the city of Valencia (Xativa) in Spain, in the year 1451 (in 1432), was twenty-five years old and a soldier in the Spanish army, when a Roman adventuress, who landed in Barcelona, made him the father of three children. " " Don Rodrigo raised those children at his home and had them educated most correctly ; and, when becoming old, he made them, in legal form, the theirs of all he had, as he had promised to them.

" In spite of all this, the goddess, Fortuna assisted him so well in all his wishes, that, although he had enjoyed their mother so long, to the shame and disgrace of his relatives, who belonged to the lower nobility, not one ever spoke of it, ever objected to it ; so effective was his secrecy— notwithstanding the reprobation of his former observers and the dishonor resulting from it to the Borgia house—. At court functions he was in the company of the King, and possessed the highest esteem and appreciation of the world ".

Although imprudent enough to keep his bastards, with his formerly detected mistress, in his home, the goddess Fortuna had aided his cunning so well that not only the

28. Cod. Vallicel., f° 6.
29. Annal. Eccles. Ad. an. 1492, no. XXVI.
30. Roma ed i Papi, vol. 2, pp. 408, 479.

king of Aragon, his courtiers and all Spain were deceived, but his own uncle, pope Calixtus III, knew nothing of his long continued misconduct. Happily for the later traducers of pope Alexander VI, one man, although but one, the original pamphleteer, has, a few decades later, discovered every hidden detail of Roderic de Borgia's scandalous life with Virginia Vanocci !

It was at the time sufficiently known in Rome and in its neighborhood, where the youngest children of William Raymund de Borgia were popularly called children of the Pope, that these children were born in Spain. The author of the pamphlet did not venture to lay the scene of Don Rodrigo's excesses in Rome or in Italy ; he feared the protest of even an Infessura or a Pontanus; but he kept both accomplices within their native country till their youngest offspring was nearly full-grown ; although he must have felt the difficulty of moving them to the Roman city. By doing so he has safeguarded the historic time and place of the birth of the Pontiff's nephews, even though they should have been his progeny ; but he has incurred the dire necessity of confounding the living with the dead, and of spurning chronology, generally, in a fashion which we leave the reader to notice, when he will further become acquainted with the history of cardinal Roderic de Borgia. We here simply condense the pamphleteer's long tale of how he got into Rome Virginia Vanocci together with the old Don Rodrigo de Borgia, just about in time for his unanimous election to the supreme pontificate.

" Cardinal Alfonse de Borgia had never heard but the highest praises of his nephew, Rodrigo, and as soon as he had become pope Calixtus III, several prominent members of the Spanish court confirmed the previous information. Rodrigo himself wrote to his uncle a long letter of congra-

tulation and best wishes, and begged for some benefice ".

" The new Pontiff called him to Rome at once ; but the nephew was too much attached to his concubine and children to accept the alluring invitation. He answered by making many excuses, and added that he was now living a retired life and as a free man at one of his villas, had thirty-two thousand ducats of yearly income left him by his father, besides the grants of his King, and that he was happy and wished for nothing better ".

" At the reception of Don Rodrigo's reply, the Pope made haste to dispatch a prelate of his court, to tell him that he was wanted to be made a nuncio to Portugal, and that even now His Holiness had, to encourage him, named him archbishop of Valencia with a revenue of twelve thousand florins, " fl. $\frac{12}{m}$ ".

" Don Rodrigo was greatly perplexed ; he held a council with his loved one and his children ; where plans were discussed, and it was finally decided that Virginia should depart for Venice, with the children, and stay there incognito till she should be called to some other place ".

Bower admits also this particular into his History of the Popes [31].

May the reader forgive us for interrupting the dramatic narrative of the lampoonist ; but we cannot resist the temptation of inserting here a short but interesting detail, that will improve his story, although it is somewhat contradictory to it. Moreri relates [32], upon the authority of a certain Nibby, as follows : " They still indicate in Rignano, a small village in the diocese of Città Castellana, the house of the famous Catherina Vanozza. Cardinal Roderic Borgia was visited by her in the monastery of the Bl. Mary of the Graces,

31. Vol. 3, p. 259.

32. Dizionario, Art. Borgia, p. 127.

outside Rignano, where he dwelt, while attending to the preparations of his train with which he was to make his solemn entry into Rome, where his uncle Calixtus III was reigning ; and he took her along with him, and had sons by her : Cesar, among others ".

And now we let the archslanderer continue his tale.

" To govern her house, there had been sent with her an honest Aragonian gentleman, called Don Emmanuel Melchiori, who, when later arriving in Rome, took the name of Count Fernando di Castiglia. Rodrigo, to stimulate his fidelity, promised him the hand of one of his eldest daughters ; but, when he became a Pope, he had the poor man put to death " [33] !

No subsequent slanderer of pope Alexander VI has reported this twofold crime, although it seems to be sufficiently abominable not to have been neglected.

" Meanwhile Don Rodrigo himself hurried to Rome, where his uncle made him a cardinal at once and a vicechancellor of the Roman Church, with a yearly income of twenty-eight thousand ducats. But the nephew refused the hat, till cardinal San Severino held out to him the expectation of the papacy ".

" As soon as invested with the purple, he made it his business to fool the world. He would walk with his eyes cast down, twist his neck, teach the faith, give pious instructions, visit the churches, preach in public, take the defense of the common people, admonish the judges not to sully their conscience with the greed of gold and silver, frequent the hospitals, give to the poor to eat ; banquet the cardinals, assist them, especially those who were the most in need, by sending to them good sums of money derived from his chancery ; forward certain amounts of grain to different religious communities every Saturday and Monday, chari-

33. Cod. Urbin. f° 134.

tably listen to his servants, kindly sympathize with their frailties ; send candles to the churches where the Most Holy was exposed, to increase public veneration towards it, and surround it with lights and other sacred decorations ; be kind with sufferers and distribute abundant alms in his district. What, however, excited the most admiration, was his custom of reciting the divine office always with bared head, while riding in his coach, his preaching the fear of God, his conscientious regard for the members of his household, and his promise of leaving to them at his death, all that he possessed, maintaining all the time that he had no relatives but the Pope. He had a horror of heretics and magicians, of whom there were great numbers at the time, and he said that they should be burned alive without pity ".

The pamphleteer's charge of hypocrisy is not historically justified. May we not suppose an enemy's account of Roderic's good works, stated to be performed in open daylight during his cardinalate, to be truthful, all the more when, as we shall see, later on, his true history confirms it in several particulars ?

" The new cardinal thus secured the reputation of being the greatest saint in heaven, was venerated by the people and admired by his colleagues of the Sacred College ".

" But he did not forget his lady-love, whom he still considered as a wife. Soon after he became a cardinal, he wrote to her the following autograph letter : " Dearly beloved and most faithful consort " :

" It has finally pleased Our Lord God to establish me in this City, near the Pope "... He hopes to receive her and all their children and recommends secrecy...

" Yours...

"3d of December, 1490.

" Rodrigo Borgia ".

The Vallicellana copy [34] prefers September to December, but agrees on the day of the month and on the year, 1490 (!).

" The Pope was proud of his nephew, and, to further encourage him, made him bishop of Albano and of Porto, and appointed him a legate to several places [35], where he behaved in an exemplary manner. He afterwards delegated him to the courts of Portugal and of Aragon ; but, when far away from the observing eye of his uncle and of his colleagues, he allowed himself so much liberty with the ladies of Spain, that he became despised and accomplished nothing ".

Some later writers have renewed these assertions of the original pamphleteer.

" While he was in Spain, his uncle, Calixtus III, died, and, the Conclave soon elected pope Innocent VIII ".

The three intermediary Pontiffs : Pius II, Paul II and Sixtus IV, are summarily reduced to nothingness, and Calixtus III is allowed to live thirty-two years after his death, while Innocent VIII himself was debarred from his throne for six long years. These high-handed proceedings of the pamphleteer are, however, but small matters of no special consequence.

" When cardinal Rodrigo returned from his legation, it took him but a few months to receive in Rome the lady, that he held in lieu of a wife, together with his children. Here Virginia Vannocci lived a very retired life and the grown up children became actually lost from sight for a time. The governor of her house, now become count Fernando, passed himself off as her husband and an old friend of the cardinal, who, under pretext of visiting him, would go at night to the residence of his beloved, to sup and dance with her ".

It makes a unique tableau : this lover of nearly three

34. fo 12.
35. Cfr. Dennistoun, Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, vol. I, p. 302.

scores of years dancing with an old concubine in the presence of a lot of adult bastards ! And yet, a modern writer, Gordon, has not been ashamed of taking over into his History of Alexander VI [36] all these scurrilous details.

" In the morning, however, the cardinal would leave his palace and go on his usual rounds of piety and charity ".

" It was a great wonder that the true character of Rodrigo's beloved and of the false count Ferdinand di Castiglia, impersonating her husband, was never discovered during all the time that she passed in Rome, filled at the time with members of the Spanish nobility ; that nobody made remarks about her, that there were no persons curious enough to inquire who she was or by whose means she subsisted ".

It was, indeed.

The anonymous pamphleteer tells the truth here for once. Not a single decent contemporary speaks a word of Virginia Vanocci, or of any mistress of cardinal Roderic de Borgia or of pope Alexander VI. Unborn, all alone, did he hound the shadow of his Don Rodrigo, look through walls and doors and jot down the items of his vile story. He wonders or glories at it, that none but himself knew of all these things ; but it is a greater wonder to us that writers, for centuries, that, even today, some of our intelligent historians accept as true his solitary unwarranted absurdities, in order to defame a Roman Pontiff. Could we explain this puzzle as he explains his, namely, through the influence of the stars?

" Under the protection of his tutelary star, Rodrigo succeeded in constantly securing more and more the object of his ambition. He was made Pope with the full vote of the Conclave, or, as the Vallicellana copy says [37], with the votes of all the twenty-two cardinals, on the 26th day of August, 1492 ".

36. French translation, t. I, p. 18.

37. fo 22.

This mistake of date is very pardonable, for pope Alexander VI was crowned on that day.

There is no need of saying that the old intrigue runs through the whole pontificate of pope Alexander VI ; in fact, it is the almost exclusive topic of its whole history. We shall not follow it any longer. The pamphleteer has so fully satiated us with his romance, that we now leave it to the romancers of today.

We may have subjected to a severe test the patience of our best informed readers, by the lengthy rehearsal of so many incredible or, at least, impossible details, as full of glaring anachronisms as of manifest wickedness ; but, by exposing the satire, we have made unnecessary the labor of its more special refutation.

After time has abated the revengeful hate of pope Alexander VI, and Protestantism has become less violent against the Roman " scarlet woman of Babylon ", any decent writer should now be ashamed of using any statement found in such a poisoned source of history. Yet, many modern historians, neglectful of historical authentic records, still rely on the copyists of the nameless pamphleteer.

It is true that Gregorius Leti, a renegade, known as Tomaso Tomasi, or the anonymous continuator of his " Life of Cesar de Borgia " [38], has asserted that Cesar's mother was a certain Catherine or Rosa, called by some Vanossa, from her family cognomen. I think, he says, a woman of low Roman extraction, who kept ensnared by her outward charms the young Roderic de Borgia until the time of his first dignities, which compelled him to leave her ; and he adds the stereotyped sentence, that, until then, he had held

38. Extended till long after Tomasi's death.

and treated her as a legitimate spouse [39]. It would be hard to tell whether this statement of Tomasi was an inspiration of, or an extract from, the pamplet ; but it is sufficiently known that his writings are unreliable, hostile and unjust towards Christianity and her ministers, and no serious historian of the last two centuries invokes his authority, for fear that his support might injure the cause.

It is very possible, however, that, when historical criticism was yet in its infancy, the celebrated historian, Mariana, who was sorely deficient in knowledge of documents regarding the Borgias, and who wrote at a time when a vague aversion to pope Alexander VI was lingering still, may have taken seriously the statements of Tomasi and the correlative romance of the ignorant pamphleteer. He contradicts, indeed, some of the latter's essential errors, as when he states that Roderic, still young, needed no invitation to hurry from Spain to Rome, as soon as he heard of his uncle's elevation ; and yet, even this assertion is incorrect. But, after transforming, on what grounds he does not say, the noble Spanish Virginia Vannoci into the common Roman girl Zanozia, he also uses the words of the pamphlet to say that Roderic held and treated her as a regular wife. Raynaldi, who came but a half century later, being in haste to fill his otherwise valuable folio tomes, simply copied Mariana's mistakes about pope Alexander's parentage, place of birth and advent into Italy ; and, again with the pamphlet's expression, about his pretended relations with the Roman Zanozia, he, of his own accord, calls her a prostitute [40].

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39. Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds franç. Cod. 12186 : Thomasi, Vie de César Borgia, Trad. fr., fo 2, 3.

40. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1492, no. XXVI, XXVII ; Mariana, Lib. 26, cap. I : « Natus est in Hispania urbe Valentia, pater Gotifredus Lenzolius, mater Isabella Borgia. Renuntiata Calixti avunculi electione ad non dubiam purpurae spem continuo Romam junior advolavit. Cardinalis factus tum alia intemperantia foedus extitit tum justae propemodum uxoris loco et cultu habuit Zanoziam Romanam puellam, ex qua... ».

The great renown of these two historians has been the excuse, for many subsequent writers, to confidently copy any of their reports, although it is but natural that even the best author of an extensive or universal history should make many mistakes. The consequence is that, even until this day, there is a lasting prejudice against the memory of pope Alexander VI. To stop this persistent injustice it is necessary and sufficient to subject to a serious inquest, without relying on defamers or apologists, the original accusations and the worth or credibility of the accusers ; above all, to look up the reliable documents that make us acquainted with the facts pertaining to the Pontiff's biography. We shall perform this task as we proceed with our work, and for the present we shall continue our simple narrative of Roderic de Borgia's cardinalate.

CHAPTER IV.

Cardinal de Borgia under Calixtus III.

ARTICLE I. — THE CARDINAL, GOVERNOR-LEGATE OF THE MARCH OF ANCONA.

Pope Calixtus III had great confidence in the talents, virtue and learning of his nephew, Roderic de Borgia, and destined him for difficult missions abroad and responsible positions at his court.

The March of Ancona, a province of the Pontifical States, had been rent and ruined by constant wars and discord for the last twenty-five years ; and was now, with the exception of a few cities, under the tyrannical rule of its invaders, the Sfortias, whom the Popes were compelled to tolerate [1]. The first office confided to cardinal Roderic de Borgia was the temporal government of this disturbed territory, in the name of its Suzerain, the Supreme Pontiff. The delicate and arduous task was, with the advice of the Sacred College, imposed upon him by a commission dated the last day of the year 1456. He received the title of Vicar General of the Pope, in matters temporal, in the March of Ancona, in the cities, towns and castles of Massa Trabaria and the Presidency of Farfa ; and he was also invested with the faculties of a legate " a latere ". The object of his mission was to restore peace in those parts and to render justice to both the Sovereign and the people [2].

The salaries of church officials always were barely

1. Aeneas Sylvius, Hist. de Europa, cap. LIX.

2. See Document 60.

sufficient to cover their personal expenses and those of their servants ; but the Pontiff took care, on this occasion, to provide his Vicar in the March of Ancona with more revenues of church properties.

To bear more easily the heavy expenses, which he had now constantly to make, as the record states, the cardinal received, on the very day of his appointment, the expectatives or rights of succession to the benefices first to become vacant in his vicariate, up to the amount of a yearly income of four thousand florins in gold [3] ; and, on the same 31st of December, 1456, pope Calixtus III granted him the commendam of the monastery of Saint Mary of Clairvaux, of the Cistercian order, in the diocese of Camerino, with an income of five hundred gold ducats [4] ; but Roderic resigned the latter benefice, not long after, in favor of John, cardinal of St. Prisca ; reserving, however, on it, with papal assent, a pension of two hundred ducats in gold and the right of " regressus ", or re-entering into its possession at its next vacancy. Pope Pius II confirmed the reservations on the 5th of December, 1461 [5].

On the 13th of the following January, the Pontiff conferred on him several " praestimonia ", yearly donations, in the dioceses of Compostella and Çuença [6].

Hardly had Roderic left for his mission, when he was further granted, on the 31st of January, 1457, the expectatives of five benefices, respectively in the dioceses of Toledo, Çuença, Avila, Burgos and Palacios, worth altogether two thousand pound small tournois [7].

That the young cardinal might be of higher consideration

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3. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Calix. III, de Curia, An. II, t. X, Regest. 445, fo 264.
4. Ibid., fo 289.
5. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Pii II, de Curia, An. II, III. IV, t. XVI, Regest. 483, fo 246.
6. Ibid., Regest. 447, fo 262vo, ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 701.
7. Ibid., Cal. III, Secret. An. I, II, t. I, Regest. 464, fo 109vo.

with both the clergy and the laity of his vicariate and make himself agreeable to them, the Pontiff invested him with several extraordinary faculties. He allowed him to grant any kind of benefices, even the highest and most valuable that might be or become vacant within the limits of his jurisdiction, provided their bestowal was not reserved to the Roman curia. He could also accept any resignation of benefices and grant those so resigned. Again, he was allowed to permit the accumulation of any two offices or dignities, with or without the care of souls, either for life or for a stipulated length of time, with the right of exchange for other similar or dissimilar benefices, provided, however, they were not two of the higher dignities of the same cathedral or collegiate church, or two parochial rectories or perpetual vicariates. Moreover, he received power, to dispense twenty persons from any illegitimate birth, so that they may inherit from father, mother and relatives ; without, however, any detriment to the legal heirs of persons dying intestate ; that they may be appointed to any secular office, receive Holy Orders, and from one to four compatible benefices with right of exchange ; further still, to give to fifteen individuals, over twenty-two years of age, the right to accept benefices, to which the care of souls is attached or which require the reception of the sacred Orders ; in like manner, to allow to fifteen persons, living in the territory of his legation, to marry within the third or fourth degree of consanguinity or affinity, or continue in a marriage contracted within such degree ; so also, to absolve, from the impediment of irregularity and subsequent inhability and infamy, fifteen persons who may have incurred these penalties by not submitting to the consequences of excommunications or interdict, provided they have not disobeyed through contempt of law and have tried to repair their fault, allowing them the

exercise of their Orders and the promotion to higher Orders; the retention of their benefices and the acceptance of others; finally, to grant to twenty persons the privilege of choosing a fit confessor who may absolve them once of cases specially reserved to the Apostolic See. Given at St. Peter's in Rome, December 31st, 1456 [8].

In order to encourage the members of his household to accompany him on his mission, pope Calixtus III granted, on the 7th and on the 8th of January, 1457, to his legate some special favors in their behalf. By a brief of the former date he conceded to him, that the members of his household and his chaplains should receive the payment of the dues and incomes of their benefices, as well as if they were residing at the Roman court [9]; and, on the day following, he conferred upon him three more privileges for them. First, cardinal Roderic could, during the time of his legation, grant to them, by himself or a deputy, if they should be in danger of death, the forgiveness of all their sins, that is a plenary indulgence—the concession of which does not require the granter's presence or direct action and is not a matter of priestly order but of jurisdiction [10]. In the second place, the Pontiff assured him that his attendants would retain their rights of succession to benefices, as they would when remaining in Rome [11]. Lastly, he allowed him to freely dispose of all their benefices, whenever they might become vacant [12].

The legate left the papal court and proceeded to the March of Ancona, on the 19th, 1457 [13]. He found earnest

8. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Cal. III, de Curia, An. II t. X, Regest. 445, fo 295.
9. Ibid., de Curia, an. I, II, t. XI, Regest. 446, fo 27.
10. Ibid., de Curia, An. II, t. X, Regest. 445, fo 303vo.
11. Ibid., fo 304.
12. Ibid., fo 306.
13. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 594 and footn. 2, where he refers to the Acta Consist. in Archiv. Secret.

occupation at once. Giovanni Sforza was a hard master of Ascoli, when a certain Josias, a youg nobleman of that city, conspired with a few companions, killed Giovanni unawares and took his place. While acting also as a tyrant, he was exiled from the city, and Ascoli enjoyed a rest under the direct administration of the Church. Meanwhile Josias had, the year before cardinal de Borgia's arrival, taken possession of a papal castle, strong by its location and close to the city ; and was, with a large number of bandits, causing not a little concern to its inhabitants. This move did not, however, bring him good luck, for hardly had the legate Roderic entered upon his functions, when he called the pontifical troops at his disposal, lay siege to the stronghold, eventually captured it and sent Josias a prisoner to Rome [14].

The cardinal's activity was soon known at the papal court and deemed to be deserving of recognition. On the 16th of February, 1457, the Pontiff, considering that his nephew had no large means to defray the expenses incumbent upon his rank and office, granted him the provostship, a high dignity in the cathedral of Mainz, with an income of one hundred and fifty marks of silver [15]. Moreover, as Roderic's rights of succession in the March of Ancona and the duchy of Spoleto were only expectatives without any present benefit, the Pope increased, on the 10th of March, 1457, the possibility of desirable vacancies, by reserving for him a number of other benefices in the province of the Patrimony [16] ; and, a fortnight later, by extending to the whole kingdom of Spain the expectatives, which he had given him, on the previous 31st of January, in a few Spanish dioceses, up to

14. Aeneas Sylvius, Hist. de Europa, cap. LX.

15. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Cal. III, de Curia, An. I, II, t. XI, Regest. 446 fo 195vo.

16. Ibid., Cal. III, Secret. An I, II, t. I, Regest 464, fo 111vo.

a yearly revenue of two thousand pound small tournois [17].

To allow him more time for the performance of his absorbing duties, pope Calixtus III gave him permission, on the 19th of the same month of March, to rent out the revenues of his benefices for a period of three years [18].

Roderic de Borgia's first nomination as a bishop took place on the 11th of April, 1457. The king of Navarra craved for his son, John of Aragon, the rich diocese of Valencia, which had virtually become vacant by the election of its bishop to the supreme pontificate. When the bishop of Girona died, he thought there was an occasion to satisfy both, and made repeated efforts to have Roderic named bishop of the latter city, and John of Aragon, bishop of Valencia. Pope Calixtus III afterwards stated that he had acceded to the demand by letters exorted through vexatious insistence, " importuna quorumdam instancia extortas literas ". He appointed the royal prince, under special provisos , as administrator of the Valencian diocese ; yet, he retained for himself its actual government both temporal and spiritual [19]. At the same time he named his legate in the March of Ancona, with the approval of the Sacred College, as administrator of the Girona diocese, to become its regular bishop and pastor on his attaining the age of twenty-seven years.

From another bull we see that, on this occasion, Roderic lost his canonry and prebend in the cathedral of Valencia, which were transferred upon Jofre Lanzol [20]. This privation was, however, offset on the 22d of the same month, when

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17. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Calix. III, Secret. Lib. VI, An. I, II, III t. XXIV, Regest. 495, fo 75vo ; and Ibid., Lib. VII, an. I, II, III, t. XXV, Regest. 460, fo 14vo.

18. Ibid., Calix. III, de Curia, An. I, II, t XIII, Regest. 448, fo 23vo.

19. See Document 66.

20. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Calix. III, de Curia, An. I, II, t. XII, Regest. 447, fo 91.

the Pope bestowed on him some benefices in the diocese of Seville [21].

In the meantime the legate was at work. Learning that the nobles, de Clavellis of Fabriano, were in a state of rebellion against the Pope, he went and confiscated their property, and asked directions how to dispose of it. The Roman Curia answered him, on the 28th of May, 1457, that is should be sold for the benefit of the pontifical treasury [22]. On the 7th of the following December, the Curia acknowledged the receipt one thousand and five hundred gold florins, which cardinal Roderic had fowarded as proceeds of the sale.

Duties performed and rewards in return followed one another in timely succession. The Pontiff granted, on the 13th of July, 1457, to his faithful Vicar general in the March of Ancona the secular abbey de Heremides in the cathedral of Palencia, worth a yearly income of three hundred and fifty pound small tournois [23].

Numerous and varied were the occupations of the legate in several districts under his jurisdiction, to restore order and justice, and thus improve the condition of the common people. He was also to settle divers matters referred, without his knowledge and perhaps in spite of him, to the Roman curia by persons of his territory. Of this we found two instances, that afford us an interesting insight into the moral plight of the province which he was sent to reform.

On the 23d of September, 1457, " aº 3º, " he was notified that, according to numerous reports, the marshal of the March of Ancona, through negligence or for certain reasons, was slow in carrying out the decisions of the court ; thus causing many losses to the treasury. It was further stated that several individuals were offering themselves to fill his

21 Ibid. Regest. 447, fº 278, ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 701.

22. Ibid., fº 37.
23. Ibid., fº 250.

place for one-half of his salary, and could easily procure more revenue. Should these assertions be truthful, it would seem that the office ought to be given to one making such promises. Being on the spot and able to judge, the legate might hear the bearer of this brief, and make him marshal, if he should know the change to be to the honor of the Pontiff and the advantage of his treasury [24].

He also received the following directions of the same date : It is said that many in your province defraud the saltworks of Mr. Simode, and, when brought by our deputies before the local tribunal, juggle with lawyers and prosecutors and escape justice. You know how important for the treasury are the taxes on salt [25], and how great our losses will be unless such practices be curbed. Be careful, therefore, and diligent to prevent their recurrence. Moreover, let all carriers of salt water and all others, in any way guilty of fraud, be arrested, summarily judged and punished according to their demerits ; so that all persons may be afraid of committing similar offenses [26].

Cardinal Roderic de Borgia continued his faithful services in the March of Ancona till close to the end of the year 1457. He had made for himself a high reputation from the beginning of his administration. H. de l'Epinois publishes [27] a short extract from a congratulatory letter, which the cardinal of Siena would have written to him on the 22d of February, 1457 ; but, this message, printed in the Complete Works of Aeneas Sylvius [28], is dated from Rome on the 1st day of April, 1457. Its portions relating to the present subject are as follows :

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24. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. XXXIX, no. 8, Cal. III, Pii II, Brev. An. 1457, fo 11.

25. Then and ever since in Italy.

26. Ibid.

27. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 384

28. Opera Omnia, Basileae, 1576, Epist. 257, p. 787.

" Aeneas cardinal of Siena to Roderic cardinal of St. Nicholas.

" I suppose your great and most important occupations and the trials of the country where you are, are the cause that I received no word from you before this time. It causes me pleasure to see your courage shine in adverse and difficult circumstances ; indeed, those who come from the March of Ancona declare that province to be saved from the greatest dangers through your care and activity, your efforts and most remarkable talents. The Supreme Pontiff has highly praised Your Eminence before the Sacred Consistory, and the whole College of cardinals recognize that they are under obligation to you for your services, because your exertions have saved Ascoli. Had that city fallen, not only the March, but the whole of St. Peter's Patrimony would have been lost. Continue, therefore, etc...

" Your chief notary has spoken to me, and he wishes your return. Would to God that this were granted, the sooner the better ; for your return would be very useful ; you would be a comfort to the great aged Pontiff, your uncle, who, absorbed by constant anxieties, finds no relief. Your very presence would be an enjoyment for him, since it is sweet to mind and heart to be with one of our own blood. Besides, you would take upon yourself a portion of his cares and not let him bear alone all the burdens. The whole Roman court would also rejoice exceedingly at your arrival, because they would find in you a man to whom they could have recourse in cases of urgency ; for, at present, there are many disappointed, since they can not obtain access to the Pontiff, although his Holiness is unceasingly engaged giving audiences night and day. I know not what may be decided about your return, but if I can do anything to accelerate it, I shall not fail to do so.

" I had written thus far, when your most agreeable letter was handed to me. If I wondered at first that you did not write, I am astonished now that, under the pressure of all your labors, you may have found time to send me a letter...

" You ask for news. I will briefly write what I hear. Jacopo Piccinino [29] has sent envoys to the Pontiff, to clear himself by saying that he has had nothing to do with the plots of Ascoli. The Pontiff has answered that he should take that step before the great Aragonian king, who had gone security for him [30]. Some think that count Jacopo is indignant, because his stipends have been stopped, and that he will start some new disturbance ; others say that he is going to the King, either to exculpate himself or to request help in his undertakings. Whichever his object may be, watchfulness is needed, so as not to let the Church territory be damaged...

" Rome, the 1st day of April, 1457 ".

This last remark of Aeneas Sylvius indicates the dangers against which the delegate was to keep prepared ; but the cardinal of Pavia reports [31] that he conducted with equal firmness the whole of his legation.

ARTICLE II. — CARDINAL DE BORGIA, VICECHANCELLOR.

Whilst the older cardinals were admiring the deeds of their junior colleague in the March of Ancona, the Pontiff became convinced that his nephew was a man fit to manage the most important and responsible office of the papal court.

The Roman Vicechancery [32] had been left vacant for some

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29. The ambitious and dreaded captain or soldier of fortune, who upset all central Italy at the time.

30. But who was, in fact, Piccinino's abettor against the Pope.

31. Epist. et Comment., fo 349vo

32. The Pope himself was considered as the chancellor of Our Lord Jesus-Christ.

time already during the pontificate of Nicholas V, namely, since the death of its last incumbent, cardinal Francisco Gondulmaro, bishop of Porto, on the 30th of October, 1453, although cardinal d'Estouteville is said to have applied for it in the year 1455 [33], as Pastor notices [34]. The envoy, Otto de Carretto, wrote on the 20th of August, 1457, how three principal officers, " Conservatores " of the City, had requested the Pontiff to name cardinal Roderic as vicechancellor. If true, this petition would be a testimony to the esteem in which the cardinal was held by the people of Rome, as soon as he became known to them.

In fact, Roderic de Borgia was appointed Vicechancellor of the Roman Church, at a time when he was overburdened with cares and labors to preserve and improve the territories of his legation [35].

The preamble to his diploma is, evidently, not of great probatory significance, but neither is it devoid of all value. It reads as follows : " Calixtus etc. To our beloved son, Roderic, cardinal deacon of St. Nicholas in the Tullian prison, Vicechancellor of the holy Roman Church, Health etc. Your Eminence's uncommon activity, splendid morality, well-known refinement, kindness and wisdom, zeal for the house of God and the excellence of many other virtues, with which the Supreme Giver of them all has made you conspicuous in many ways, besides your tested experience in difficult concerns of the Roman Church, of which you are an honorable member : they all give us the certain confidence that, like a high and solid pillar of the same Roman Church, you will faithfully, accurately and diligently perform whatever charges We may entrust to you ". The Pontiff then

33. Giacomo Volaterrano, Diarii della Corte di Roma, ap. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Cod. 987, fo 71 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 594.

34. Ibid., s. 699, footn. 6.

35. Aeneas Sylvius, Hist. de Europa; cap. LVIII.

prevents and annuls all objections that might ever be made against the present appointment ; he solemnly names the cardinal as Vicechancellor with all usual faculties and rights, honors and burdens, privileges and emoluments, and, after stating that he has admitted and does admit the customary oath of fidelity made by him, he assumes and creates, constitutes and delegates him to perform the functions of the office [36].

Aeneas Sylvius wrote on this occasion [37] : Roderic Borgia, cardinal Deacon of St. Nicholas in the Prison, governs the Chancery at present ; he is young of age, it is true, but old in manners and judgment, and he gives signs of being in learning the equal of his Uncle himself.

From the very bull of his creation we see that cardinal Roderic well knew of his appointment. He received his parchment in due time [38], but the Pope could not afford to recall at once his useful legate, who was in the midst of his hard and successful labors, and did not object to his remaining in the March of Ancona, till that province should have become more secure and better regulated. Finally, on the 5th of October, 1457, Roderic wrote from Fabriano to Lodovico de Gonzaga, that it had pleased the Holy Father to create and to publish him as vicechancellor of the Roman Church, and he gave his name on the reverse of the message as " R. cardinal de Borgia, Vicechancellor of the Holy Roman Church, Legate of the March etc. " [39] On the 3d of the next following month, the appointment was officially published to the employees of the chancery in Rome, as we find it mentioned at the end of a transcript of the main document [40].

36. See Document 61.
37. Leonetti, Papa Alessandro VI, vol. I, p. 106, Refer. to Aen. Silv., de Moribus Germaniae.
38. Otto de Carretto, ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 699, n. 6.
39. Pastor, ibid., Doc. 77.
40. Rome, Barberiniana, Cod. XXXV, 94, fo 184 : Lecta et pu-

We did not learn the exact time at which cardinal de Borgia completed his duties in the March of Ancona, but the envoy Otto de Carretto announced [41] from Rome, in a dispatch of the 6th of November, 1457, that Roderic would arrive within a week to take possession of the vicechancellor's office.

The young cardinal, high-spirited though he was, may well have hesitated a moment when first realizing the weight and extent of his new charge, on his first beholding the army of employees and of venerable officials, whom he was to command and for whom to answer. The vicechancery was, indeed, the most honorable position of the Roman court, the first dignity after that of the Pope ; nor was it less important, for it was called at the time, as testified by pope Innocent VIII [42], " the eye of the Roman Pontiff ". It was not a mere dignity, but involved actual office work [43]. To it were referred nearly all difficult concerns of the papal court and the bulk of all ecclesiastical business [44].

To do the vast work required from the vicechancery, the Popes had allowed or instituted several colleges, departments or bureaus of dignitaries and officials, who had their assigned shares of labor to contribute towards the general efficiency.

The chancery's complicated machinery was set in motion by a numerous body of individuals, cleric and lay, called " Solicitors of apostolic letters ", advocates or attorneys of private persons or parties from all over the Catholic world,

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blicata fuit prescripta Bulla die lune III, Novembris dicti anni, MccccLVII, ut supra in cancellaria apostolica mane hora Cancellarie presentibus dominis de Parco et pluribus scriptoribus et abbreviatoribus... De mandato et jussu Smi d. n. pp. A. de Racaneto Custos

41 Ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 699, footn. 6.

42. Archiv.Secret. Vatic., Regest. 682, fo 12.

43. Ottenthal, Bullenregister, s. 447.

44. Giov. Stella, ap. Clément de Vebron, Les Borgia p. 559.

requesting verdicts of justice, offices, dignities, benefices or spiritual favors. They needed cardinal de Borgia's watchful supervision and seem to have caused him annoyance many times. Pope Sixtus IV found it necessary to reform and regulate them, and to charge them for admission a certain amount of money, that would also act as a security for their probity and faithfulness. He commences his bull of the 13th of June, 1482, by stating how, through the ignorance and dishonesty of the present solicitors, many abuses and delays had caused complaints from princes and other persons. We have, therefore, he continues, ripely deliberated with our Venerable Brethren and especially with Roderic, (then) bishop of Porto and vicechancellor of the holy Roman Church, who has, in a praiseworthy manner, presided for many years over the vicechancellery with extraordinary virtue, skill and diligent care ; and, according to their advice, We herewith establish forever the office of Solicitors of apostolic letters. And, to make it clear by whom the members of this college shall be appointed, either by ourselves and the Apostolic See or by the said Roderic, bishop and vicechancellor, who is known to have the right of naming all the officials of the chancery, with the exception of the Abbreviators [45], Scriptors and Notaries apostolic, We here state that, after due consideration of the brilliant services which the same Roderic has rendered to Us and to the Holy See, even during the present difficult circumstances, We, together with him, admit this first time to the said college the one hundred men named on the hereto appended list. He further ordains that, in the future the successors of the last twenty-five shall be appointed by cardinal de

45. Pope Innocent, who renewed this and other bulls of Sixtus IV, in favor of cardinal de Borgia on the 14th of September, 1484, did not even except the Abbreviators : Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 682, fo 12.

Borgia or his successors in office. He grants, moreover, to the vicechancellor the faculty of dispensing applicants from all defects that may debar them from the position. The government of the Solicitors is committed to him and he receives the authority of punishing their faults ; in particular the falsification of apostolic documents, even with the penalty of deposition. Finally, the Pontiff imposes on all, afterwards admitted, the payment of fifty gold florins, for the approval of their application and of the customary perquisites, to be made into his own treasury, or to cardinal de Borgia, should the appointment be made by the latter. The usual oath before admission was to be taken also before the vicechancellor [46].

The proceeds of the institution of this new college amounted to the sum of thirty-five thousand gold florins, of which, in consideration of ancient customs and of expressed special motives, pope Sixtus IV had granted one-fourth to the vicechancellor. Cardinal de Borgia, aware of the Pope's financial stress, allowed, however, the papal Cameriere to give him an order for seven thousand seven hundred and seventy-five ducats only, thus making a donation of nearly a thousand ducats [47]. Nor could we call this liberality inconsiderable, when we notice that some cardinals, like Juliano della Rovere and George Costa, were, at the time, lending to the pontifical treasury, and others were drawing subsidies from it [48].

The next subsidiary department of the chancery was the " Dataria ", where all requests and petitions, presented to the Holy See, were received, considered and forwarded to the apostolic notaries, or prothonotaries, of whom there were quite a number ; and to their clerks, or " Abbreviatores

46. See Document 62.
47. See Document 63.
48. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati, 1484 and 1484-1489.

prothonotariorum ". This bureau was to make or to approve the first draft of apostolic letters. It was the vicechancellor's duty to examine these clerks before they could be admitted, and to dismiss them if afterwards found to be unsuitable.

In case of concessions or favors, the sketches of papal grants were mostly prepared in the department of the so-called " Abbreviators ", who were named by either the Pope or the vicechancellor and sworn in by the latter. These were divided into three classes, according to the three compartments, " Parco, parquet ", into which their work hall was partitioned, and were named : " de prima visione, de parco minori ", and " de parco majori ". Pope Pius II, in the year 1463, on the 15th of November [49], reduced their number to seventy, of whom twelve only should henceforth be appointed by the vicechancellor, who should also allow a man of their choice to distribute among them both labor and pay [50]. The same Pontiff complained, the following year, of the incompetency of the college of Abbreviators, and took upon himself part of the vicechancellor's authority, by removing several older officials and replacing them with a dozen of his relatives and a number of professional latinists, such as Lodovico Crivelli, Francesco Filelfo, Gasparo Biondi; Bartholomew Sacchi, better known under his assumed name of Platina. Some of the new abbreviators were admitted through favor, others had to pay a certain amount for their office.

There is no record or mention of any objection made by cardinal de Borgia, although he suffered in his accustomed rights and revenues ; but many of the former abbreviators and scriptors, who had lost their employment and livelihood,

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49. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Pii II, Offic. An. III, IIII, V, VI, Lib. II, Regest. 516, fo 201.

50. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 217 ; Voigt, Enea Silvio, Bd. III, s. 553 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 289, 290.

set forth their grievances before the next Pontiff, Paul II, who restored, on the 3d of December of the same year 1464, the ancient order of things, prescribed the return of all money lately received for the offices, and reinstated the vicechancellor in his customary rights and privileges.

A new constitution for the college of Abbreviators was issued by pope Sixtus IV, on the 11th of January, 1479[51]. The pope established their number at seventy-two and allowed much latitude in their government to the vicechancellor, to whom he also granted the right of appointment of twenty-one of them. His share in the purchase price of newly admitted members of the college, namely, eight thousand gold ducats, was ordered to be paid to him on the 7th of January, 1480[52], and he received the amount on the 28th of the same month[53]. Yet, he lost by the change, with generous consent, an average yearly income of over one thousand and one hundred florins[54].

Another branch of the Roman chancery was the college of the " Scriptores ", who wrote the originals of pontifical documents. Their number was set at one hundred and one, but was often exceeded, although the position was to be bought at a high price. The vicechancellor had his part in the examination of applicants for admission.

To him belonged also the supervision of the " Bullatores ", whose province it was to affix the leaden or golden seal to pontifical parchments, that is, two officials called guardians of the bulls, and the " fratres barbati " or Cistercian lay brothers, who did the sealing.

A further class of curial officials subject to the vicechancellor were the " papal notaries ", mainly occupied in issuing

51. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 652, fo 219. The date is incorrectly given as the 13th of January, Rome Barberiniana Cod. XXV 94 fo 157vo.

52. See Document 64.

53. Gottlob, Aus der Camera Apostolica, s. 247.

54. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 652, fo 219.

the pontifical briefs or wax bulls. After becoming a Pope, Roderic de Borgia established also these into a regular college.

The last department properly belonging to the chancery was the one charged with the records or registration of papal documents. It consisted of a few special secretaries, two masters of records and a number of hired scribbling scribes, one of whose objects, it seems, was to exercise the patience of all future paleographers ; and yet, of all papal employees none have earned better the gratitude of scholars in search of truth for ecclesiastical or even profane history. Let it be mentioned that, on the 15th of May, 1486, pope Innocent VIII enlarged the bureau of records with a college of seventy-one Collectors of the lead-seal taxes [55].

Finally, there was dependent upon the vicechancellor the tribunal of the Sacred Rota Romana, composed of a number of notaries and advocates and usually of twelve judges, men of great learning and of the highest consideration [56].

As noticed, many offices of the Roman chancery were " vacabilia ", subject to the payment of sums of money stipulated by papal decrees ; but they were also quite honorable and brought goodly incomes. As a matter of course, the president general was richly paid, receiving his share of the fees and donations distributed among the members of each department. The greater portion, however, of the vicechancellor's revenues consisted in the purchase prices of the offices that he was allowed to confer. According to Gregorovius [57], Jacob of Volterra reports a rumor, that the Roman vicechancellery procured him eight thousand florins a year. This exaggeration probably originated in the

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55. Rome, Barber., Cod. XXXV, 94, fo 242.

56. Voigt, Enea Silvio, Bd. III, s. 548 ; For further information regarding the vicechancery see Hary Bresslau, Urkundenlehre, Bd. I, s. 230 to 252.

57. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 17.

amounts received at the erection of the latest chancery colleges.

After making our rapid survey of the various bureaus and numerous officials to be directed and supervised by him, we should not wonder if the vicechancellor was well paid. Besides his daily task of signing important papers, he was to examine and admit or reject the applicants for nearly all chancery positions, watch the labor and even the general behavior of all under his broad jurisdiction, and audit and settle all personal or collegial complaints. Thus was he himself, one day, admonished to make his inferiors observe the privileges granted to the notaries of the Sacred Rota [58].

To correct and prevent abuses, he issued from time to time special regulations for one or more departments of the chancery. In particular did he, together with the papal Cameriere, ordain, on the 8th of November, 1477, that certain pontifical briefs should be forwarded free of charge [59]. To the same effect he published in Rome, during the year 1487, a work of literature and jurisprudence, a volume in quarto, titled A Commentary on the Rules of the Chancery and the Constitutions of Innocent VIII in regard to Benefices [60].

Even after he had become a Pope, he continued to take a special interest in the government of the office which he had held so long. For instance, he defined, on the 29th of May, 1494, the rights of the college of Abbreviators [61], and, on the 13th of April, 1502, he issued a constitution against those who would dare to strike or to wound procurators or solicitors of causes pending before the court [62].

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58. Rome, Barberiniana, Cod. XXXV, 94, fo 221vo.

59. Ibid., fo 213.

60. « Glossae Roderici Portuensis Episcopi in Regulas Cancellariae et Constitutiones Innocentii VIII, de Beneficiis » : de l'Epinois, ap. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 386, footn. 4.

61. Rome, Barber., Cod. XXXV 94, fo 272.

62. Ibid., fo 278vo.

We will readily admit with Ottenthal [63] that the vicechancellery was no honorary sinecure ; and, besides, pope Calixtus III had burdened his nephew, cardinal Roderic, with another office yet, as we shall presently observe. But it was the uninterrupted routine of his duties that made his labor arduous. When the other bureaus of the pontifical government were closed for the usual summer vacation, those of the chancery were kept open ; for, every day in the year, there were at least some papal bulls and briefs to be prepared and sent forth.

The officials were, in turn, given a few days' rest, and to their president also some relief was allowed by the Supreme Pontiff, who granted him the faculty of naming a substitute, for the occasions on which he would particularly be in need of recruiting his health, or would have some special mission or legation to perform, away from Rome. Thus, after the example of his predecessors, did pope Sixtus IV give him that right on March the 6th, 1472 [64]. Innocent VIII, who confirmed several papal concessions in favor of cardinal de Borgia, on the 14th of September, 1484, renewed also the faculty of appointing and removing one or more lieutenants, whenever he would see fit to do so, even though he should be present in Rome [65]. Four days after, the same Pontiff further explained the cardinal's right, by declaring that he could make use of it also at any time that he might freely choose to leave the City [66].

The vicechancellor seems to have been very considerate and prudent in the use of this privilege ; for, when, in 1468, he wished to enjoy a short vacation and escape the suffocating, pestilential atmosphere of Rome, he selected, to replace him, the learned and virtuous bishop de Talavera, but con-

63. Bullenregister, s. 447.
64. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Sixti IV, Bul.. Lib. III, t. VIII, Regest. 553, fo 1vo.
65. Ibid., Regest. 682, fo 12.
66. Ibid., fo 33vo.

sulted the Pontiff before confiding the vicechancellery to the bishop's temporary care [67]. So also, on the 18th of June, 1470, because his health required a change of air and the use of medical baths, he appointed, according to papal directions, as his lieutenant, Simon, archbishop of Antivari [68]. When grown older, he had a regular assistant, as appears from another appointment of a substitute on the 12th of February, 1479; giving as reasons the multiplicity of his occupations and the death of his ordinary lieutenant [69].

Cardinal Roderic de Borgia held the office of vicechancellor for the space of thirty-six consecutive years, till he was elected to the supreme ecclesiastical power and dignity. When he then handed it over to cardinal Ascanio Sforza, he was allowed to state that the vicechancellery had been, during his long possession of it, a source of dignity and eminence, of authority and honors [70]. Hieronymus Porcius, a contemporary, wrote, indeed, that by his conduct he had preserved the high consideration of the office and enhanced it [71]. Platina relates [72] that cardinal Roderic performed the duties of a vicechancellor to the honor and glory of himself and of all the Borgias, with such accuracy as to win the good will of all, and to be elevated with universal applause to the See of St. Peter. Still another writer of the time, the Venetian Giovanni Stella [73], reports likewise that he governed the vicechancellery so as to obtain the affection and admiration of all officials, and to deserve his reaching the pinnacle of honors.

The duties of the vicechancellery took up the greater part of Roderic de Borgia's time during his long cardinalate, but

67. Rome, Barber., Cod. XXXV, 94, fo 207vo.
68. Ibid., fo 208.
69. Ibid., fo 218vo.
70. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Secret. An. I, II, III, Lib. III, Regest. 869 fo 1.
71. Ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 608.
72. Ap. Clément de Vebron, Les Borgia, p. 556.
73. Ibid., p. 559.

they were not the only ones that he had to discharge. Whilst a legate, in the March of Ancona, he had successfully employed the papal troops to secure the peace of Ascoli, and this feat drew upon him the responsibilities of another important office. He had hardly taken hold of the vicechancery, when, on the 11th of December, 1457, he was named chief and general commissary of the whole pontifical army, with authority over all captains or condottieri, even over its captain general, who was his brother, Pedro Luis. Not only was he given the right of directing war, but was also invested with absolute power to make treaties or conclude peace with the rebel vassals of the Church. To further procure peace to the pontifical territories was the main object of pope Calixtus III in making this appointment [74]. Pastor [75] translates the title by the word : " Feldhauptman ", commander-in-chief of the army ; but this office belonged to Pedro Luis de Borgia ; and, from the text of the commission, we think that a more correct idea of the cardinal's functions would be conveyed by the term, Minister, or Secretary of War and of State.

Cardinal de Borgia retained this office until the 9th of March, 1459, when he was superseded by Anthony de Piccolominibus [76], a nephew of pope Pius II, who, like all Pontiffs of that period, bestowed his confidence and favors upon his relatives and countrymen [77].

The cardinal's incumbency was thus of short duration, but long enough to let him realize the picture of the sad condition of social order or rather disorder, in all the pontifical States, and to let him have a foretaste of the bitter fight, which he should one day have to wage himself, in

74. See Document 65.
75. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 594.
76. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii II, Offic. An. I, II, III, Lib. I, Regest. 515, fo 229vo.
77. Ibid., Regest. 515, 516, 517, passim.

order to restore, by dint of arms, the peace and happiness of the people, to procure which pope Calixtus III had been willing, but in vain, to forgive every crime and to make every concession.

Vincente Ximeno, assures us [78], that two more offices were given to cardinal de Borgia about this time ; namely, that he was also made prefect of Rome and governor of the duchy of Spoleto ; but there is evidently confusion here of Roderic with his brother, Pedro Luis, who occupied these honorable positions. We may on this occasion remark an error of the same kind made by Ferreras [79], who relates that, when pope Calixtus III resolved to wage war against the Turks, he sent to Aragon his nephew, cardinal de Borgia, to publish the crusade and collect the alms prescribed for that purpose. The assertion is not supported by any document or any other writer, but is sufficiently disproved by the circumstances of the time [80].

During his former occasional stays in Rome and on his return from the March of Ancona, Roderic de Borgia probably was a guest of his uncle, at the Vatican palace ; but his office of vicechancellor required henceforth a steady residence in the City, and, consequently, a home for himself and his attendants. The Church owned, along the straight portion, " via recta ", of the street leading from the Piaza di Spagna to the bridge of Sant' Angelo, a group of old buildings, that formerly had been used as the papal mint, and still bore the name of Cecha or Zecca. It happened that pope Calixtus III was at that time under great financial stress. The building and support of a fleet against the Turks had emptied his treasury, and it was found advisable to alienate some church

78. Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, t. I, p. 67.
79. Hist. de España, t. 10, p. 32.
80. Cfr. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1455, no. XXX.

property, to pay the current expenses of his own living and of the public administration. No real estate was more useless to the pontifical exchequer than the old mint, abandoned already by pope Eugene IV [81], and now falling into ruins. In his need, the Pontiff offered it for the sum of two thousand gold florins, which his nephew agreed to pay [82]; and, on the 22d of February, 1458, he ordered his treasury officials to sell the property to Roderic, his vicechancellor [83]; and confirmed the sale on the following 5th of April [84].

The cardinal rebuilt the edifices and transformed them into a large comfortable dwelling or palace, where he took up his first abode in Rome, opposite the church of St. Blasius [85]. For fear that his right of ownership might be contested, because his residence was alienated church property, he obtained from his uncle's successor, pope Pius II, a new confirmation of its sale. Even pope Sixtus IV, as late as March 25th, 1472, secured it for him over again by a lengthy document, allowing him to freely dispose of his beautiful palace as he might choose to do [86]; and, finally, pope Innocent VIII added to the confirmations of his predecessors the weight of his own approval [87].

The cardinal's expenses in building and furnishing his home naturally were very considerable; and he was, no doubt, wishing the benefices reserved for him to become vacant faster than they did. The Pontiff, therefore, still increased the chances of a larger income by adding, on the 10th of February, 1458, seven more expectatives to the five

81. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 625.
82. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Secret. An. I, II, III, Regest. 869, fo 35.
83. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Cal. III, de Curia, An. II, III, t. XV, Regest. 450, fo 124.
84. Ibid., An. III, IV, t. XVI, Regest. 451, fo 274vo.
85. Hier. Porcius, ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 608.
86. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 553, fo 104 to 111.
87. Ibid., Regest. 869, fo 35vo.

which he had granted him, the year before [88], in some dioceses of Spain.

On the 4th of the following month of March, Roderic's revenues were actually increased by fifty florins in gold, through his appointment as perpetual administrator of the Benedictine abbey of Holy Angel at Massa, in the diocese of Narni [89].

Pastor has found [90] that other favors of the same kind were bestowed upon cardinal de Borgia, on the 10th of March and the 25th of April of the same year.

He further received the commendam of the Cistercian monastery of Fossanova, in the diocese of Terracina, on the 7th of May, 1458 [91]. As a faithful administrator, he carefully examined into the condition of affairs of this abbey and became convinced that, in spite of the laws of the Church, former abbots or friars had alienated, either forever or for a number of years, certain forts, villas, farms, tenements, small houses and other possessions, movable and immovable, that by right belonged to the monastery and whose loss was detrimental to both the administrator and the religious community. On the 1st of December, 1461, he obtained a bull from pope Pius II, ordering that a regular inquest should be held, and all property unduly estranged should be returned [92].

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88. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Calix. III, Secret. An. I, II, t. I, Regest. fo 109vo.

89. Ibid., Cal. III, de Curia, An. III, t. XVI, Regest. 451, fo 71vo.

90. Regest. 464, fiis 109b, 114 ap. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 701.

91. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Cal. III, de Curia, An. III, IV, t. XVII, Regest. 452, initio.

92. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Pii II, de Curia, An. II, III, IV, t. XVI, Regest. 483, fo 269.

ARTICLE III. — THE CARDINAL, BISHOP OF VALENCIA.

A very important and probably the most welcome promotion, which Roderic de Borgia received during all his cardinalate, was the one to the episcopal see of Valencia. His uncle, pope Calixtus III, had always considered that diocese as his one dear spouse [93], refusing any other bishopric and retaining its title and government, after he had become a Pope. It was his wish to transfer it to his nephew, the cardinal Roderic ; but king Alphonso V was threatening the Pontiff with increased hostility, should not his nephew, John de Aragonia, be definitely invested with the Valencian diocese, to which Calixtus III had, under pressure, granted him at least a semblance of claim. The death of the king of Aragon and Naples, on the 27th of June, 1458, was a great relief for the old harassed Pope, who hastened to profit by the event, to execute his designs upon the church of Valencia [94].

On the 30th of the same month he convoked the cardinals in consistory and, with their consent, promoted John de Aragonia to the vacant archdiocese of Saragossa, without dispensing him so that he could retain the administration of the dioceses of Monreale or of Valencia, but rather declaring him absolved from all possible bonds or duties to either of those two episcopal sees. He then, as fearing future contestation, juridically proved and authoritatively declared the vacancy of the Valencian diocese. Finally, to the great pleasure of the Sacred College, he nominated to this see the cardinal deacon of St. Nicholas in the Tullian prison and vicechancellor, investing him therewith and abdicating in his

93. Pope Paul II, fo 144, Regest. 536, Archiv. Secret. Vatic.

94. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 600.

favor all its care and administration, and authorizing him to duly receive episcopal consecration at any time [95].

As usual, on such occasions, the Pontiff announced and recommended the bishop-elect to the people of the city and of the diocese of Valencia, to the chapter of the cathedral, to the clergy of the diocese, to the vassals of the See, and to the venerable archbishop of Tarragona [96].

Villanueva [97], Gams [98], Chevalier [99] and others correctly report Roderic's nomination as bishop of Valencia ; but many mistakes in this regard have been made by well-known historians. Panvinius [100], copied by Ciaconius [101], asserts that Calixtus III appointed him, still a young man, not as bishop, but as archbishop of Valencia. Gröne [102] reports that his uncle made Roderic, when only twenty-five years old, archbishop of Valencia ; then, in the same year, cardinal deacon of St. Nicholas and vicechancellor of the Roman Church. Moreri [103] has woven the following tissue of errors : " Calixtus III soon conferred his diocese of Valencia upon his nephew Roderic Lenzuoli or Lanzol, treasurer of the Valencian cathedral; gave him his own cognomen and armorial ensigns and published him a cardinal in 1456 ". Some writers assert " Roderic was made a bishop of Barcelona in 1473, and was, only in the year 1479, transferred to Valencia, which had been created an archdiocese by Innocent VIII ". Let it be incidentally noted that cardinal Roderic never was a bishop of Barcelona. His namesake, Roderic de Borgia, bishop of that city, was his first cousin. Neither does Ximeno distinguish between the two Roderics

95. See Document 66.
96. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 453, fo 26.
97. Viage Literario, t. I, p. 52.
98. Series Episcoporum, p. 88.
99. Répertoire, p. 74.
100. Vita Alexandri VI.
101. Vitae Roman. Pontiff., p. 147.
102. Papstgesch., Bd. II, s. 294.
103. Dizion. Art. Valenza, p. 288.

de Borgia, when he alleges a certain catalogue of the Barcelonian cathedral to say [104], that cardinal Roderic was bishop of Barcelona from the year 1473 till 1479. Cherrier emulates Moreri when he writes [105]: " Roderic of the Lenzuoli, born at Valencia in 1430 or 1431, obtained his dignities through the protection of Alphonso I, king of Aragon and Naples [106], whose subject he was ". We noticed the very opposite of this assertion a moment ago. It is hardly worth the while to recall to mind that the anonymous archslanderer of pope Alexander VI makes him a bishop of Valencia before he ever left Spain for Italy.

The revenues of the Valencian See were abundant [107]. An ambassador of the time values them at eighteen thousand ducats and another at twenty thousand [108], but we may learn their correct amount from an authentic document. When, indeed, on the 26th of November, 1498, Cesar de Borgia resigned the archdiocese of Valencia, the consistorial records set down five thousand florins payable as annates, and ten thousand as the true yearly income of that metropolitan church [109]. When granted this income, cardinal Roderic was deprived of some of his former benefices. He, namely, lost the sacristy of his new cathedral, his deanery in St. Mary's church of Xativa, his canonry of Segorve and the parishes of Culera and of Quart in his new diocese ; but he was allowed to retain all his other revenues from churches, monasteries, dignities or priories, etc. Such was the decision of the Pontiff on the same 30th of June, 1458 [110].

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104. Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, t. I, p. 67.

105. Hist. de Charles VIII, t. I, p. 263.

106. In Aragon he was Alphonso V, and Alphonso I, in Naples.

107. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 691, fo 322vo.

108. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 600, 704 and footn. 2.

109. Rome, Bibl. Barber. Cod. XXXVI, 10, fo 24vo.

110. See Document 67.

Pastor [111], after a dispatch of Antonio da Pistoja, relates that Roderic's diocese of Girona was given, on the same occasion, to the Pope's datary, Cosimo de Monserrato, under obligation of a pension of two thousand ducats in favor of the Pontiff's nephew in Bologna, Lewis John del Milà, whom Pastor by mistake calls de Borgia [112]. We doubt the correctness of this statement, contradicted as it is by the foregoing papal decision, whereby Roderic was to retain all his churches and benefices, with the exception of the five expressly mentioned.

Cardinal de Borgia had taken possession of the diocese of Valencia, but its retention was not at first peaceful and quiet. The new king of Aragon considered the late promotion of his son as an amotion, since the income of the Valencian diocese was larger than that of the archdiocese of Saragossa. Unable to undo the action of pope Calixtus III, he was vexed and dissatisfied with his successor, Pius II. To promote better relations between King and Pope, for the general benefit of the Church, cardinal Roderic made himself the generous advocate and willing victim of his former competitor, and begged the Pontiff to grant to John de Aragonia a lifelong yearly pension of five thousand florins from the Valencian episcopal revenue, " mensa episcopalis ". Pope Pius II granted the noble request on the first day of April, 1460 [113].

It seems that when Roderic de Borgia's uncle gave him his own beloved diocese, he communicated to him also his heart's affection for it ; because, from the scant information left us, we may conclude that Roderic could hardly have done more for it, should he have resided in Valencia.

Retained in Rome by still more important duties, he took great care in choosing the best possible lieutenants : his

111. Ubi supra.
112. Ibid., s. 704, footn. 3.
113. See Document 68.

officials, vicars general and a coadjutor bishop. Of these we have found a few names.

In the year 1460 his procurator in Valencia was Jacob Exarch, a doctor of Canon Law, whom pope Pius II selected as one of the three judges, who were to examine a Franciscan titular bishop accused of preaching false doctrines, and to make a report to him.

From Ximeno [114] we learn of a Brother James Perez, a member of the Augustinian monastery of Valencia, who, Zacarias Boverio says, was an honor to the Church through his excellent writings, and a model of regularity and holiness of life. He taught theology, at the Valencian high school and was afterwards assigned the duties of a pulpit orator, which he performed with so much talent and zeal that, as it is stated in the canonical inquest into his virtues, his hearers likened him to the most eloquent of the Fathers of the Church. When appointed the second time as prior of his monastery, he was elevated to the titular bishopric of Christopolis, on the 1st day of October, 1469 not unlikely at the request of cardinal de Borgia. As soon as he was consecrated, the cardinal, then bishop of Valencia and administrator of Carthagena, recommended to his care both these dioceses. James Perez remained Roderic's lieutenant until the year 1490, in which he died, more than eighty years old, and praised by the greatest men of that century, because of his admirable saintliness and learning. Proceedings towards his beatification were commenced, and then indefinitely interrupted. To discover, elevate and employ a man like him is an honor for any bishop.

Perhaps the first vicar general in matters spiritual, whom cardinal Roderic had in his Valencian diocese, was Beren-

114. Escritores del Reyno de | Valencia, t. I, p. 56.

garius Clavel, a canon of the cathedral, who died shortly before the 10th of July, 1482 [115].

Clavel's successor was Mathias Mercader, a doctor of Canon Law [116]. The following fact proves in what consideration he was held. Two Dominican friars had been named as inquisitors of heresy in the kingdoms of Spain, and pretended to exert their office independently of the bishop of Valencia and his vicar general. Cardinal de Borgia objected with the Pope, and Sixtus IV issued a bull, on the 4th of December, 1481, threatening with excommunication all Spanish inquisitors, if, without the advice and consent of bishop Roderic's Vicar general, Mathias Mercader, grand archdean of the Valencian cathedral, they should again attempt to exercise their function in the city, diocese or any part of the kingdom of Valencia [117]. It is stated in another record, that Mercader was the vicar general of Valencia till he died, in the year 1489 [118].

When cardinal Roderic had once appointed his officials, he jealously upheld, as his own, their delegated rights and authority. The canons of his cathedral were in possession of a papal indult, according to which they could not be prosecuted or punished by their bishop or his representatives, without the consent of a deputy of their chapter. Emboldened by the immunity, some of them feared not to insult the newly appointed officials of their bishop ; but the abuse of their privilege was the occasion of its loss. Complaints were forwarded to Rome, and cardinal de Borgia lay them before the Pontiff. On the 25th of November, 1460, pope Pius II, revoking the former concession, established that, in case of any insult or injury made by the word or deed of

115. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV, Secret. Lib. III, t. III, Regest. 548, fo 253vo.

116. Ibid., Regest. 673, fo 249vo.

117. Ibid., Sixti IV, Bull. Div. An. III ad XII, t. XV, Regest. 674, fo 13.

118. Ibid., Regest. 771, fo 125vo.

any canon or other individual to the bishop or to any of his officials, the bishop might himself, or one of his lieutenants having ordinary jurisdiction should, without the citation, advice or consent of anybody, proceed against the culprit in criminal or civil action, and punish, fine, or even deprive him of his benefices, should his offense deserve it [119].

It was presumably cardinal de Borgia's same principle of sustaining not only his personal representatives, but all dignitaries, superiors and all others occupying a post of spiritual authority in his diocese of Valencia, which led the Supreme Pontiff, Paul II, to do him the favor of taking that diocese under his special protection, and to forbid its metropolitan, the archbishop of Tarragona and his vicars general to perform any act of superiority or jurisdiction in it, no matter what the reason or the occasion might be. He also declared null and void all proceedings, judgments, pains and censures, which the archbishop, his vicars general or his officials might attempt to make or inflict against the dignitaries, ministers, churches or monasteries of the Valencian diocese. Thus was this suffragan bishopric fully exempted, on the 11th of October, 1470, from all dependency on its former metropolitan See, so long, it is stated in the bull, as cardinal de Borgia should live or be the bishop of Valencia [120].

From this action of pope Paul II it appears that cardinal Roderic needed not the direction or supervision of an archbishop in the government of a diocese. Pope Innocent VIII took another step in the same direction, by making him an archbishop himself. Valencia was, indeed, raised to the dignity of a metropolitan see on the 9th day of July, 1492, and, at the same time, its bishop was named to be its arch-

119. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 478, fo 233.

120. Arch. Secret. Vatic., Paul II, Secret. An. IV, ad VII, Lib. XIII, Regest. 536, fo 144.

bishop. There were no objections to the twofold promotion, because the diocese of Valencia was practically independent of its former metropolitan church, and the two dioceses that were made suffragan to it, Majorca and Carthagena, were dependent on the Roman court and both already under the administration of Cardinal de Borgia. There were, on the other hand, several reasons for the erection of the new metropolitan See, which the Pontiff enumerates. The Valencian diocese had a large population and a numerous clergy, was loyal to the Holy See and had revenues sufficient to sustain an archbishop's rank. Again, it would be easier for the clergy and laity of the suffragan dioceses to have recourse to Valencia than to Rome, in cases pertaining to archiepiscopal jurisdiction. In the third place, there were to be taken into consideration the splendid services of Valencia's bishop, cardinal Roderic, who had now for a long time presided over the diocese in a most commendable manner. Finally, the kings of Spain had requested the favor [121].

It is a bishop's earnest duty to guard both the faith and morals of his diocesans, and to preserve and protect the temporal belongings and rights of his diocese. That cardinal de Borgia was not neglectful of these obligations is evident from the fact, that he not only exerted his ordinary faculties to fulfill them, but, on many occasions, he had recourse to the Pope himself to accomplish them more efficaciously.

The usual revenues of the See of Valencia and certain goods and field crops acquired by pope Calixtus III, the former bishop, had not been paid since his elevation to the

121. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Innoc. VIII, Secret. Lib. I, Regest. 691, fo 322vo ; Cfr. Ximeno, Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, t. I, p. 67 ; Villanueva, Viage Lit. t. I, p. 52 ; Gams, Series Episc. Art. Valencia, p. 88 ; Chevalier, Répert., p. 74.

papacy. The procurators of cardinal Roderic demanded the arrears, but payment was refused by some secular, clerical or even religious persons, under the pretext that he had no right to them. The cardinal lodged a complaint with pope Pius II, and the Pontiff issued, on the 19th of March, 1460, a notice from his Curia, ordering payment to be made within fifteen days, under pain of excommunication [122].

It is easily presumed at whose request the same Pope, on the 29th of May, 1462, again threatened with excommunication the temporal magistrates and noblemen of the diocese of Valencia, who would prevent the payment of revenues and tithes to the bishop, to the prelates or parish priests [123].

The cardinal, in looking up the lawful resources of the bishop of Valencia, found that in the course of time, during the long absence of the incumbents, many properties, feudal and other rights, that used to contribute towards the bishop's support, had been unduly lost and alienated under various pretexts and in different unlawful ways. He applied for remedy to pope Sixtus IV, who instituted an executive committee of three bishops, with orders to secure again for the Valencian See whatever sources of revenues had been abstracted from it. His bull was given on March the 6th, 1472. Of its practical results we did not hear [124].

We found yet another occasion on which cardinal de Borgia met with difficulties, in securing for his See or for himself a dignity and revenues, which pope Paul II had given him a right to expect. This Pontiff had, namely, granted that the Cistercian abbey of Valdegna, in the diocese of Valencia, should be united to the bishopric, on the resignation or death of its abbot. Although his successor,

122. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Pii II, de Curia, An. I. II. t. VIII, Regest. 475, fo 214.

123. Ibid., Pii II, de Curia, An. IV, V, t. XIX, Regest. 482, fo 135.

124. Ibid., Regest. 680, fo 5vo

Sixtus IV, had confirmed the concession for the lifetime of the cardinal, the friars of the monastery elected another abbot on the former's demise, refusing to recognize the bishop of Valencia as their prelate. Pope Sixtus IV was now called upon to confirm his previous confirmation with a bull of the 13th of August, 1476, threatening the most severe penalties, should the monks persevere in their opposition [125].

While simply doing his duty, cardinal de Borgia may seem to have been very exacting or avaricious, in claiming what was due to him as bishop of Valencia ; but, following here also his habit of using his revenues to improve whatever was confided to him, he spent on his cathedral a large portion of the money collected in his diocese. Ximeno [126] writes of him : He left in our city of Valencia everlasting memorials of his generous heart, especially, the enlargement of the metropolitan edifice, from the last pilasters of the transept to the main entrance, as also the tower, called the " Micalét ", including the chapel, which today is the parochial chapel of St. Peter the Apostle, also built at his expense, as indicated by his escutcheon .

That the cardinal aimed at strict justice in all temporalities, not only of himself and of his clergy, but also of his secular diocesans, is evidenced by the following fact. A nobleman had improved the parish of Luchon in the diocese of Valencia, and pope Pius II had granted him, in token of gratitude, a pension of forty pounds on the parochial income. The gentleman afterwards sold the pension, and trouble ensued. The case was referred to the investigation of the bishop ; and the bishop ruled that the rights to the pension thus

125. Archiv. Secret Vatic., Sixti IV, Bull. Div., An. I ad VI, t. VI, Regest. 665, fo 426.

126. Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, t. I, p. 68.

acquired were just and binding, and directed pope Sixtus IV to decide as he did, on the 19th of March, 1474 [127].

Temporal affairs relating more directly to matters of religion and piety enlisted still more the attention of cardinal de Borgia as bishop of Valencia.

One of his predecessors had observed that the Holy Masses and other religious functions, which the founders of benefices and prebends had stipulated for the relief of their souls, were not sufficiently exonerated by the beneficiaries or their substitutes ; and he had given an order that all, whose benefices would remain burdened with their charges, should pay one-third of their net income to priests who would fill their obligations. This regulation had been renewed by pope Calixtus III, when yet a cardinal. The new bishop, cardinal Roderic, with his cathedral chapter, soon noticed that the episcopal decree continued to be neglected and he resolved that an honest priest should be elected to exact the third-parts of revenues from such beneficiaries as, through negligence, incapacity or absence, did not do justice to the founders of their prebends, and to pay to priests who actually discharged the stipulated Holy Masses ; and, should any money be left, to distribute it among the clergy attending the offices of the choir. To prevent the recurrence of this wrong, the cardinal and his cathedral chapter applied to the Supreme Pontiff, Pius II, who, on the 23d of August, 1459, confirmed the resolution and added a severe sanction [128].

Pope Calixtus III had granted, in the year 1457, a special indulgence to all who would piously visit the cathedral of Valencia on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and offer an alms towards its restoration. The work

127. Ibid., Sixti IV, Bull. Div., An. I. ad V, t. XIX, Regest. 678.
128. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii II, Secret. Lib. VI, t. XXXVI, Regest. 503, fo 194.

might have been commenced, but the treasurer of the contributions refused to give an account of the money received. He was, however, eventually forced to comply, through a special command of pope Pius II, which his bishop obtained on the 19th of November, 1460 [129].

" In consideration of cardinal de Borgia ", pope Sixtus IV declared the indulgence in favor of the Valencian cathedral to be perpetual and exempt from all general suspensions of indulgences [130] ; but, in spite of his concession, the same Pontiff had afterwards very accurately suspended in Spain, for three years, every indulgence but the one of the " Cruciata ", granted in favor of the war against the Moors of Granada and Mauretania ; but cardinal Roderic alleged so insistingly the late ruin by fire of the main altar of his cathedral, that, on the 27th of April, 1483 [131], Sixtus IV exempted again from his suspension of indulgences the one given in favor of the Valencian church.

Nor did Roderic de Borgia, after he was elevated to the Apostolic See, relax in his zeal for the temporal and spiritual welfare of his former best loved cathedral. By a bull of the 3d of July, 1495, whose introduction is a hymn to the Mother of God, he excepts from his own suspension of indulgences the one granted for co-operation towards the further ornamentation of her Valencian shrine [132].

When a legate in Spain, cardinal Roderic visited his episcopal city and called, no doubt, at the convent of the Poor Clares near by, which was the home of several saintly ladies of the Borgia house, and where his mother's youngest sister, Francisca, may have been living at the time. He was so

129. Ibid., Pii II, de Curia, An. II, III, t. XI, Regest. fo 120.

130. Ibid., Sixti IV, Bull. Div., An. I, II, III, t. I, Regest. 660, fo 7vo.

131. Ibid. Sixti IV. Bull. Div. an. V ad XIII, t. XVIII, Regest. 677, fo 170.

132. Ibid. Alex. VI. Secret. an. I, II, III, lib. 3. Regest. 869, fo 279.

favorably impressed by the regular and exemplary life of its inmates that, after his return to Rome, he placed their chapel on a level with his cathedral, by obtaining, on the 1st of May, 1475, from pope Sixtus IV new indulgences for the faithful who would visit, on certain days, either place of worship and make a contribution towards its improvement [133].

He also took an interest in the pious and charitable institutions of lay people in his diocese. It is recorded that, on the 19th of October, 1482, the same Pope confirmed, at his request, the last will of a married couple, naming as their legatees the " Poor Children ", a Confraternity of the Blessed Virgin in the church of Valencia [134].

It was not long before Roderic, as bishop of Valencia, saw that it was his duty to act as guardian of the faith. Towards the middle of the year 1460, he learned that a Franciscan friar, titular bishop of Octona, was preaching heretical doctrines in his city and diocese of Valencia, saying, in particular, that the Creator had not spoken among the divine persons, but to the angels and especially to Saint Michael the words : " Let us make man to our image and likeness " ; that he had made on sabbath day things greater and more sublime than on the six days of creation, and that, for that reason, the Sabbath must be observed and celebrated better than any other day ; moreover, that Saint Christopher had carried Christ more gloriously than the Virgin Mary, and other false tenets. The case being a grave one on account of the quality of both the preacher and of his doctrine, bishop Roderic did not interfere directly, but laid it before the Sovereign Pontiff ; and, with his advice,

133. Ibid. Sixti IV Bull. Div. an. I ad VI, t. VI, Regest. 665, fo 426.

134. Ibid. Sixti IV. Bull. Div. an. III ad XII, t. XV, Regest. 674, fo 335.

pope Pius II stopped the evil at once by appointing, on the 23d of July, 1460, three learned dignitaries, who should, with full power, examine the culprit and send a report to Rome, in order to enable the Pontiff to impose a condign punishment [135].

The cardinal did his duty to preserve unadulterated the faith of his diocesans ; yet he was not at any time in favor of an essentially secular institution, whose official aim was to fight heretical depravity by severe temporal penalties, but gave occasion to much injustice and well-deserved criticism. We have noticed already how, at the end of the year 1481, he obtained from pope Sixtus IV a bull strictly prohibiting the royal inquisitors from exercising their faculties in his Valencian diocese, without the consent and advice of two of his principal officials. Nor is it difficult to discover the originator of another document, which the same Pontiff issued shortly after, on the 18th of April, 1482, extending the same restraint of the Spanish inquisition to the whole kingdom of Valencia, to that of Aragon and of Majorca and to the principality of Catalonia ; so that, in the future, the inquisitors should, in these countries, prosecute or condemn no one, without the co-operation of the local bishop or his vicars and officials. Its preamble is a severe indictment of inquisitorial abuses. " We have ", it says, " been informed of late that, in the kingdoms of Aragon, etc., the office of the Inquisition has, for some time, been conducted, not for the sake of faith or from zeal for the salvation of souls, but from greed of gain ; that many true and faithful Christians have been cast into secular prisons upon a simple accusation of enemies, rivals, servants or other vile and unreliable persons, without any legitimate indications of guilt ; that such

135. Ibid. Pii II, Secret. lib. IX, | t. 39, Regest. 506, fo 5.

victims are being subjected to torture, declared heretics and recidivists, despoiled of their functions and properties, and surrendered to the secular court, where they are condemned to the penalty of death. And they do all this to the damnation of their souls and the bad example and scandal of many others ". It will be noticed that this bull of Sixtus IV is one of the many rebukes from the Popes of that time concerning the methods of the royal Spanish inquisition. The whole document breathes the merciful spirit of Christ and of his Church [136].

The Vatican archives testify that cardinal de Borgia was not less anxious for the maintenance of purity of morals than for the integrity of faith in his diocese of Valencia. To this effect, he insisted on the observance of the canonical rules regarding episcopal visitation of the diocese ; but it seems that, at first, he met with much opposition to this measure ; for, already in the second year of his episcopate, we see him applying to the Supreme Pontiff, to have canon law confirmed and applied in his behalf. On the 19th of July, 1461, pope Pius II emphasized his right to visit, and gave him papal authority to examine, by himself or his deputies, all churches, monasteries and convents of his diocese, as many in one day as might suit him, and collect the fees usually paid on such occasions by all not exempted institutions. The Pontiff further gave him and his lieutenants apostolic faculty to proceed, in summary and private action, against any religious or clerical persons found to be guilty or delinquent ; and, should their demerits deserve it, to deprive them of their dignities and benefices, which the cardinal was allowed to transfer upon more worthy clerics [137]. This general authority to judge and punish

136. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 674, fo 366.

137. Archiv. Secret. Vatic, Pii II, Secret., Regest. 505, fo 346.

was soon after supplemented and specialized by another bull of the same Pope, who ordered, on the 19th of September, 1463, that the most severe punishments should be inflicted on all concubinary clerics, whether secular or regular [138].

It is worth while to notice that this bull was delivered free of taxation at the request of cardinal de Borgia, whom the deformers of History represent as guilty of the very crime that he wanted to punish so rigorously, when found among his subjects.

About the same time the Bishop of Valencia insisted upon the observance of the Church law prohibiting the entrance of all convents by outsiders, whether clerical or lay, and obtained the confirmation of his statute from pope Pius II, who, on the 1st of October of the same year, forbade under threat of excommunication all violations of the " clausura " of religious houses of women, making no exception but for those who should obtain special permission either from the Holy See, the Cardinal-Bishop, or from his Vicar general in matters spiritual [139]. On the 1st of September, 1465, Cardinal de Borgia obtained from pope Paul II the renewal of this enactment.

Pope Sixtus IV learned, however, from reliable witnesses that the rigid application of the threatened penalties and the offenders' dispossession of their benefices were doing no good, but were met with violent opposition and causing continual quarrels in Valencia ; and he was in fear of even worse consequences. It was evident that not all visitors of the nunneries had evil intentions, and that many hardly deserved the harsh punishment inflicted ; nor was any provision made in favor of penitent offenders. Under these

138. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii II. De Curia, an. V, VI, t. XXVII. Regest. 493, fo 9vo.

139. Ibid., fo 8vo.

circumstances, the Pontiff, for the salvation of souls, adressed, on the 23d of November, 1471, a bull to the bishop, cardinal de Borgia, by which he directed him to mitigate the penalties and to remit them to repentant transgressors of the law. He left to his prudent discretion the authority of suspending them for a length of time, and afterwards to revive his statutes, duly moderated ; in fact, he relied on him altogether to reestablish peace, without sacrificing the law of the Church [140].

His successor, Innocent VIII, confirmed both the foregoing papal decrees, on the 14th of September, 1484 [141].

There actually were in the city and diocese of Valencia a few convents, whether cloistered or not is not stated, where religious seclusion was not sufficiently observed. They had been admonished several times, but in vain ; the nuns continued their habit of conversing with men of various callings, orders and ranks, and of unbecomingly chatting with them, to the greater danger of their souls, the disgrace of religion and bad example to others. Their imprudent and lax behavior was already causing comment among serious and well-meaning people, and there was fear of more scandal. Their bishop saw the need of a thorough reform, and, to carry it out with supreme authority, cardinal de Borgia obtained, on the 22d of December, 1470, from pope Paul II, a bull, the particulars of which he himself, as vicechancellor, was at liberty to draft. It contains the plan of reformation and renovation which he followed yet, after he was exalted to the highest power and responsibility.

The bull directs that the bishop himself, if possible, or persons known for their piety and honesty, shall make for him a canonical visitation of every not exempted convent of

140. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Sixti IV. Bullar. lib. CIII, Regest. 653, fo 20.

141. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Innoc. VIII, Secret. an. I, II, III, t. I, Regest. 682, fo 8vo.

abbesses, prioresses and other religious from first to last ; and reform, correct and amend whatever they may find opposed to canon law or to the regulations of their various Orders. The Pontiff grants, moreover, to the cardinal and his deputies, the right to punish, according to their delinquencies, the abbesses, prioresses and other nuns ; and, if their demerits and obstinacy demand it, to deprive them of the government of their communities, of their dignities and offices ; even to transfer them to other convents of an Order equally or more severe, and to replace them with Sisters remarkable for holiness and religious observance, whom they may judge fit for the government of convents, and whom they can draw from any other community, exempted or not, having a similar or more strict rule of religious life ; place them in charge and give them the habit of the convent that they shall have to reform [142].

If the information, that we succeeded to gather, about the Valencian episcopate of pope Alexander VI, is very incomplete, it, nevertheless, allows us to conclude, that already then he was animated with zeal to suppress the wrongs and reform the abuses that came under his observation, even though he had sometimes to resort to drastic measures. And yet, his natural inclination was not to harshness or severity ; but, whenever it was possible, he loved to do good through concessions, compromises and forgiveness, as it also appears from one more document that concerns his episcopal administration.

On the 21st of March, 1472, he secured for himself and his delegates special faculties from pope Sixtus IV, to dispense in marriage impediments of the third and fourth degree of consanguinity and affinity, of spiritual relationship and of public decency ; to absolve from several reserved cases

142. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., | Regest. 537, fo 309vo.

and censures, to regularize faulty receptions of sacred orders, to free from ecclesiastical blemish the enjoyment of benefices by such as were prevented therefrom by incurring ecclesiastical censures ; besides other privileges for the benefit of clergy and laity in his diocese. He took care not to lose these favors by the death of their grantor, and had them all renewed and confirmed by pope Innocent VIII, on the 14th of September, 1484 [143].

Only a few days after Roderic's appointment to the see of Valencia, an event took place, which, if it had not been for his personal worth, might have blasted all hope of his further advancement and honors.

He had fled from the heat and foul air of Rome and retired to the hills of Tivoli, when he learned that pope Calixtus III had become dangerously ill. He hastened to the sickbed of his uncle, where he arrived in the early morning of the 26th of July, 1458 [144]. He found that Rome and its neighborhood were greatly disturbed already ; and the Roman barons, especially the Orsini and the Colonna, were preparing for the ruin of his brother, and inciting the populace to hatred against the Spaniards generally and against their Italian friends [145]. As the Pontiff's danger of death was growing, the Spanish members of his household disappeared, looking for safety in flight. The cardinal's own palace was soon deserted by his servants and left an easy prey to the unsparing rabble [146]. Roderic, however, relying on the good will of the Roman people towards his person, remained in Rome undaunted and calm, and resolved to do for the Church whatever he could. Pedro Luis, his brother and

143. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Innoc. VIII, Secret., an. I, II, III, t. I Regest. 682, f° 4.

144. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 607 and footn. 4.

145. Cfr. Pastor, Ibid., s. 608.

146. Niccola della Tuccia, Cronaca di Viterbo, p. 256 ; Pastor, ibid., s. 607.

captain of the papal army, had decided to defend his rights by force of arms, but cardinal Roderic induced him to accede to the proposals and requests of the Sacred College, and to surrender to them the Castle of Sant'Angelo and some other strongholds, of which he had the command.

The cardinal could give but little assistance to his dying uncle, but his popularity indicated him as the best escort for his brother to flee from a city, where Pedro's life was in greater danger every successive day. In fact, Roderic, in company with cardinal Barbo, led Pedro Luis to the outskirts of Rome and safely placed him on his way to Ostia. Then, the two cardinals returned through the streets of Rome [147], Roderic going to the deathbed of Calixtus and afterwards retiring to St. Peter's basilica, to pray for the dying Pope, who departed in the evening of the following day, August 6th, 1458, abandoned by nearly all his former protégés. The Pontiff's other nephew, cardinal Louis John del Milà [148] who had been informed too late, left Bologna on the 4th of August and arrived in Rome only on the 11th [149].

The announcement of the Pontiff's demise was received with a shout of joy by the political enemies of the Borgias, especially by the Roman barons Orsini and Colonna. In a moment the whole city was in turmoil ; all its worst elements were ravaging and despoiling the houses of Spanish officials and prelates, and woe to the Spaniard who was not in hiding. Even cardinal Barbo had to suffer for helping towards the escape of Pedro Luis de Borgia [150].

It is easily understood that, under such circumstances, pope Calixtus III did not have a solemn burial. Not a

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147. Pastor, ubi supra, s. 606.
148. A first cousin to Roderic de Borgia, not his brother, as Pastor says.
149. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 607 and footn. 4.
150. Gobellinus, Pii II, Comment. p. 36 ; Voigt, Enea Silvio, Bd. III, s. 121 ; Pastor, ibid., Bd. I, s. 608 and footn. 2.

member of his household, not one of his court, no cardinal and only four priests assisted at it ; but cardinal Roderic knew no fear and was present when the corpse was lowered into its grave, in the chapel of Our Lady of Fever, in the crypt of St. Peter's. He also, together with his cousin, cardinal del Milà, afterwards erected in the St. Peter's chapel of St. Andrew, a rich mausoleum of marble, some fragments of which still remain in the Vatican grottoes [151].

151. Gobellinus, Pii II. Comment. p. 29 ; Pastor, Ubi supra, s. 607, footn. 6.

CHAPTER V.

Cardinal de Borgia under Pius II.

ARTICLE I. — DURING THE FIRST TWO YEARS.

Eighteen cardinals entered the Conclave for the election of another Pope on the 16th of August, 1458. The first two days were spent in making up an election capitulation, favoring a greater authority of the Sacred College and stipulating a contribution from the papal treasury towards the support of such of its members as had but a small income. On the third day the first scrutiny took place. The cardinal of Bologna, Philip Calandrini, a gentle and good man, and the experienced fine writer and diplomat, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, cardinal of Siena, obtained each five votes, while none other received more than three ; and it was a strange fact that not one was given to the most ambitious of all the candidates, to the rich William d'Estouteville, cardinal of Rouen. The remainder of the day and part of the following night were passed in electioneering, especially by the French party in favor of d'Estouteville. A report of the conclave's proceedings [1] even assures us that there was a secret conspiracy, and oaths were taken to vote for the cardinal of Rouen. The silence, however, of the Commentaries of Pius II and of other contemporary writings renders the former detail very improbable. Roderic de Borgia had also been approached and, unsuspecting as he was, had been made to believe that eleven voters, when but twelve were needed, were already secured for the French cardinal. His

1. Archiv. Vatic., Politicorum | Varia, t. VIII, fo 14.

friend, the cardinal of Siena, strongly advised him to rather favor some Italian colleague, but he objected to uselessly casting away his vote and incurring the displeasure of a new Pope already sure of his election. Meanwhile cardinal Barbo was working for Aeneas Sylvius.

The result of the following day's election was a great surprise. Cardinal d'Estouteville had obtained six votes and the cardinal of Siena, nine. It was evident that either of the two would be the future Pontiff, and the Sacred College decided to try the way of " Access ", to settle the doubt, as a change of only three votes would complete the required two-thirds.

The cardinals were sitting, each one in his own place, pallid, as bewildered, speechless, without a mutter or a motion, but their eyes moving in various directions. It was a strange silence and strange was the mien of the prelates, as if the life of each were at stake. Not one spoke, not one moved for a length of time, the cardinals of lower orders waiting for their seniors to commence the access to either candidate. Then, Roderic, the vicechancellor, slowly rose from his seat and, all eyes being fixed upon him, he uttered the words : " I accede to the cardinal of Siena ", and sat down again. His grave declaration was a sword into the heart of cardinal d'Estouteville, who turned deadly pale, whilst others imagined to see Aeneas Sylvius elected already. A couple of the French partisans, wanting to break up the session, left their seats ; but they soon returned, because no one else followed them. After another while of ominous silence, the cardinal of Saint Anastasia, Tebaldo, stood up and said : " I also accede to the cardinal of Siena ". Only one more vote was still missing to accomplish Aenea's election, and noticing this, cardinal Prospero Colonna arose, saying : " I accede to the cardinal of Siena and make him

Pope "[2]. Cardinal Colonna's act completed, indeed, the two-thirds vote needed and sufficient for a papal election ; but is was evidently Roderic de Borgia's influential example that won over even that very cardinal's vote from the competitor of Aeneas Sylvius, and prevented any access to cardinal d'Estouteville, as it is sensibly remarked by de l'Epinois[3].

Otto de Carretto gives, on this occasion, a proof of the unreliability of ambassador's dispatches. On the 20th of August, 1458, the day after the election, he wrote to his master of Milan that the elevation of Pius II, the new Pope, was, to a great extent, his work ; that he had secured for him, besides the influence of the Neapolitan envoy, the votes of the cardinals de la Cerda, del Milà and of Roderic de Borgia; that he had won the latter two by the prospect of king Ferdinand's reward by favoring their wishes ; thus accusing of venality both nephews of the late Pontiff. The fact of Roderic's access to cardinal Piccolomini, which every report admits, is proof sufficient that he had been gaimed for Sylvius' antagonist, but had finally changed his mind, at a time that Otto de Carretto was unable to see him or speak to him any longer. It is, moreover, evident from the relations existing between the King and the dying pope Calixtus III, that the latter's nephews had not, at the time, and could not foster any wish to be fulfilled by Ferdinand of Naples. Carretto himself confirms his own untruth by insisting on cardinal Colonna's activity in favor of the cardinal of Siena, although it is well known that Prospero Colonna had openly refused to join, under cardinal Barbo, the caucus of Aeneas's friends and that he acceded to him, only in order to expiate his opposition to the candidate who was now virtually elected.

2. Archiv. Vatic. Politicorum Varia, t. VIII, fo 11, seq. ; Gobellinus, Pii. Comment., p. 30 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 9, 10 ; Alii.

3. Rev. des Quest. Hist. Vol. 29 p. 384.

Did Pastor [4] create a doubt in favor of de Carretto's dispatch, to countenance the blame it casts on cardinal de Borgia's integrity ?

The new Pope was favorably disposed towards Roderic even before his elevation, and it is no wonder if the latter acceded to the cardinal of Siena, when, from the scrutiny of the second poll, he noticed the possibility of his election. The Pontiff, on his part, was not slow in manifesting his appreciation of the cardinal's successful support. On the 3d of September, 1458, the very day of his coronation, he bestowed on Roderic de Borgia the perpetual administration of the cardinalitial title church of St. Mary in " via lata ", (Roman Broadway), together with the adjoining church of the monastery of St. Cyriacus, and all the houses, chapels, parcels of land, rights and appurtenances belonging to them [5]. It is not unlikely that, in making this concession, the Pope had also in mind the care which the cardinal was taking of his own title church of St. Nicholas in the Tullian prison, which, as Oldoinus [6] testifies, he completely restored.

The cardinal, however, did not renovate at once nor by himself alone the church of Santa Maria in via lata ; but when pope Innocent VIII contributed four hundred ducats to its repair, and his Datary two hundred, Roderic de Borgia gave three hundred ducats, as it is recorded in the National library of Naples [7], and is indicated by his escutcheon that still adorns the venerable walls.

Cardinal de Borgia did not retain very long the supervision of the St. Mary's church, but resigned it and its revenues, on the 30th of August, 1462, into the hands of the Pontiff, who, to spare him greater financial loss, allowed him to

4. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 11, and footn. 3, s. 12 and n. 1.

5. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii II de Curia, an. I, t. I, Regest. 468, f° 26.

6. Additam. ad Ciaconium, Vitae Roman. Pontiff., p. 162.

7. Leonetti, Alessandro VI. Vol. I, p. 156, Ref. to Ms. Bibl. Nazion. Napoli. XIII, Aa. 21.

continue receiving the produce of a dependency of St. Mary's and St. Cyriacus's churches, namely, of the prairies called the Trulian Houses, located in and about the district of Rome [8]. It is probably on account of this partial benefice that pope Sixtus IV reports him still as administrator of St. Mary's in the year 1476 [9]. He remained the regular incumbent of his titular church of St. Nicholas till the 10th of February, 1481, when it was given to John Baptist cardinal Savelli [10].

Pope Pius II remembered cardinal Roderic not only to reward him, but also to obtain a new signal service from him. One of the first cares of his pontificate was to regain full control of all the cities and fortresses of which Pedro Luis de Borgia had been and, lawfully, was still the governor ; because he found it necessary, for the peace of the Pontifical States, to appoint officers agreeable to the Roman barons and to the Italian people, who, as he remarks in his Commentaries [11], would, like all other mortals, rather obey countrymen than foreigners. Evidently no one could be more useful to him for this purpose than Pedro Luis's own brother, cardinal de Borgia. The Pontiff requested his assistance. It must have been hard on Roderic to help in depriving his brother and many of his Spanish friends of their honors and revenues ; but he knew that it was a cardinal's duty to work for the interests of the Church under any circumstances. We have noticed already how he induced his brother to freely resign, on the 3d of September, 1458, into the hands of pope Pius II all his offices and strongholds ; and how, after Pedro Luis's death, he went, in the Pontiff's name, to take possession of his last fortress,

8. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii II, de Curia, an. IV, V, t. XX, Regest. 487, f° 204vo.
9. Ibid., Sixti IV. Bullar., t. XXXI. Regest., 576, Init.
10. Ibid., Sixti IV, Bullar., t. LXX, Regest. 615, f° 110.
11. Gobellinus, p. 36.

Cività Vecchia ; and managed, as best he could, the acquisition by the papal treasury of the moneys, which his brother had gathered during his service of the Roman Church.

This generous and almost heroic co-operation could not be forgotten when pope Pius II was making the distribution, usual after a papal election, of his own former benefices and of other favors at his disposal. He had but little to give, but tried, in the course of a short time, to show his good will towards every member of the Sacred College, as appears from the first codex of his records, Register 468.

Cardinal de Borgia was little pleased with his deanery in the cathedral of Carthagena and tendered his resignation of it, on the 1st of October, 1458. The Pope not only granted his wish but also assigned to him a pension of a hundred gold ducats due from that benefice [12].

On the following 21st of January the cardinal received the abbey of Herundes, together with a canonry and various prestimonia in the diocese of Palencia ; besides the precentorship of the cathedral of Barcelona. He resigned all these benefices the same day and obtained, instead, a yearly pension upon them of two hundred and fifty florins of Aragon money [13].

The next day the Pope left Rome, on his way to the Congress of Mantua, from which he was expecting a successful coalition of the Christian princes against the renewed incursions of the cruel Mohammedans. Cardinal de Borgia and five more cardinals were selected to accompany him, whilst the others were to remain in Rome, or to follow him in the spring of the year [14].

12. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii II de Curia, an. I, t. I, Regest. 468, f° 85.

13. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii II, de Curia, an. I, t. III, Regest. 470, f° 178.

14. Gobellinus, Pii II, Comment. p. 38 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 34 ; de l'Epinois, Rev. des Quest. Hist. Vol. 29, p. 384.

Pope Pius II had arranged his route so as to pass through Corsignano, a village in the territory of Siena, where he was born. Here he was received with extraordinary enthusiastic manifestations of veneration and affection, and he pontificated in the parish church on the 22d of February. He was deeply moved with love for his humble native locality, and resolved to elevate it to the rank of a city and of an episcopal see, and he imposed upon it the new name of Pienza. He, then and afterwards, invited the cardinals and his court officials to increase the place with new buildings. Of the future cathedral he himself would bear the expenses, and gave charge to his companion, known for his royal liberality towards good works, Roderic de Borgia, to provide for an episcopal palace. He, indeed, bought directly on the opposite side of the square an old house, where the chief and other magistrates of the town used to live, and presented it to the cardinal, on condition that he should demolish and replace the old building with an episcopal palace and offer it to the Blessed Virgin Mary [15]. Work was commenced at once, the cathedral was consecrated in the month of June, 1462, and on the 13th of the following August the new diocese of Pienza was canonically established and its first bishop directed to occupy the new palace, a simple but stately edifice [16]. The generous builder's escutcheon is still to be found on the structure [17].

Having nothing at hand to give to cardinal de Borgia, yet wishing to acknowledge his generosity, the Pontiff granted him, on the 18th of March, 1459, with the express intention of honoring his person, the right of disposing, among his

15. Gobellinus, Pii II, Comment. Lib. IX, p. 235.

16. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 37, 213 and footn. 4, 5, refer. to papal secret Archiv. 487, f° 187.

17. Pastor, ibid., p. 214, footn. 2.

attendants and other deserving persons, of certain curial benefices of his Valencian diocese [18].

The progress of the venerable voyager was like a triumphal procession ; but, after reaching the pontifical provinces across the Apennines, he was received in some places with coldness and even suspicion ; and cardinal de Borgia could notice that the spirit of rebellion, which he had fought in the March of Ancona, was rife also in Romagna and Bologna, where numerous vassals were practically transferring their allegiance from Rome to Milan [19].

Pope Pius II was much honored and burdened with requests in the city of Ferrara. In Mantua, where he arrived on the 27th of May, 1459, he was received most magnificently ; but not a prince, not even an ambassador had put in an appearance yet on the 31st [20]. There was no question of transacting any business, and idleness soon became tiresome ; moreover, the food and wine were bad and the weather distressingly warm. General discontent was growing among the cardinals and other papal officials. Pastor [21] relates that the cardinals Colonna, Alain and Borgia, to pass the time and obtain some refreshment, indulged sometimes in a boat ride, and were sharply reproved for it by the disappointed Pontiff ; but he admits that some others did worse. Indeed, while some of the French party directly counteracted the efforts of the Pope, while others insulted him to his face, and Scarampo, not satisfied with speaking disdainfully of him, advised the Venetians not to send any representatives to the congress, while others yet found excuses to leave Mantua [22], cardinal Roderic, appreciating as his later actions

18. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii II, de Curia, an. I, t. III, Regest. 470, fo 153vo.

19. Cfr. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. s. 41.

20. Pastor, ibid., p. 599. Doc. 11, from the papal archives.

21. Ibid., s. 44, and footn. 3.

22. Pastor, ibid., s. 44, 45.

testify, the great religious and political importance of the object of pope Pius II's desperate efforts, remained loyally by his side, till he left Mantua, on the 19th of January, 1460 [23], and he again accompanied him on his return to Siena, in the neighborhood of which the Pontiff made a protracted stay, retaining his favorite cardinal with him.

ARTICLE II. — MONITORY LETTER OF POPE PIUS II.

It is a disputed question whether, during this time, cardinal de Borgia should, by a scandalous action, have given to the Pope a sufficient reason to suddenly break off their old friendly relations.

Gaspar of Verona [24] wrote that Roderic Borgia was not at any time even suspected of exceeding the bounds of simple worldliness, and Gregorovius himself says [25], that it is a duty of justice to state that his private life is unknown, because no contemporary speaks of it; and again, he remarks [26] that the cardinal's private life under the pontificate of the four successors of Calixtus III, that is of Pius II, Paul II, Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII, is covered in darkness, because, he says, we have no memoirs of the time or only fragments of them; thus confessing the fact that he had nothing but his evil imagination to describe the pretended wickedness of the cardinal. In fact, there is not a contemporary writer, endowed with a name, who imputes to Roderic de Borgia, either as a youth, a cardinal or as a Pope, any particular unbecoming deed. Pastor, who repeatedly accuses pope Alexander VI of immorality, is obliged, each time, to support his incrimination by the charge of nepotism;

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23. Id., ibid., s. 70, footn. 2.
24. ap. Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. Vol. III, Vita Pauli II, p. 1036.
25. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 314.
26 Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 6.

being unable to adduce any coeval testimony against the purity of his life. He acknowledges that in the various descriptions of that Pontiff, " at the time of his election, not a word is uttered of his moral behavior in former years ; although it should not be admitted, he adds, that " diese Dinge ", his scandalous misconduct, was absolutely unknown " [27]. Yet, it was unknown then, invented afterwards.

Later historians, however, to commence with Raynaldi [28], publish, and comment upon, the record of a brief of pope Pius II, by which the Pontiff severely rebukes him, in consequence of the cardinal having been accused before him of having, on a certain occasion, conducted himself in such a manner as to manifest laxity in moral principles.

The authenticity of this letter has been contested by Leonetti [29] and denied by Jules Morel [30], Clément de Vebron [31] and Ollivier [32]. They argue that the form of the brief is not classic like that of Aeneas Sylvius's other writings, that the Pope could not have written with the rash haste indicated by it, nor would he have mentioned particulars evidently incredible ; that, finally, the Commentaries of Gobellinus make no mention of such a letter. This last reason is, however, very weak, because the work of Gobellinus is written after the historic notes of pope Pius II, who probably passed unnoticed the whole incident, when becoming aware of his mistake in writing the reprimand. The authenticity is admitted by modern historians, generally, and explicitly defended by C. Douais [33], Pastor [34], and H. de l'Epinois [35],

27. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 280.
28. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 14'0, no. XXXI.
29. Papa Alessandro VI. Voi. I, p. 165.
30. ap. Débats Théol. et Polit., p. 290 seq.
31. Les Borgia, p. 87.
32. Le Pape Alexandre VI et les Borgia.
33. ap. La Controverse, an. 1883, p. 81.
34. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 590, footn. 1.
35. Rev des Quest. Hist. Vol. 29, p. 368.

who quotes in his favor the papal archivists, cardinal Hergenroether and Pietro Balan. We have seen and copied the record of the famous brief, and it looks like a regular entry into the pontifical register. We could not, however, vouch for the genuineness of the original, which, practically, we shall admit for the sake of discussion, although subsequent events, which we shall relate at the end of Chapter X of this Volume, establish the moral certainty of its forgery in later years.

The literal translation of the brief is as follows :

Pius II to the Vicechancellor :

Beloved son Health etc. We have heard that, three days ago, a great number of Sienese women, attired with all worldly vanity, have gathered in the gardens of our beloved son, John de Bichis, and that Your Eminence, little heeding the dignity which you hold, has been among them from one to six o'clock in the afternoon, and that you had for companion a cardinal, whom, if not the honor of the Holy See, his age, at least, should have sufficiently reminded of his duty. There has been dancing without restraint, we are told ; and no allurements to love were spared, and you yourself have behaved as if you were one of a secular young men's crowd. I would be ashamed of specifying all that is said to have taken place there. Not only the reality of those things but even their name disgraces the rank which you occupy. The husbands, fathers, brothers and relatives of the young women, who had come with them, were forbidden to enter, so that you might have more freedom of enjoyment. You two, with a few attendants, were the only originators and instigators of the dances. It is said that now they speak of nothing else in the city of Siena, and your foolishness is the laughing stock of all. Certainly, here at the baths, where there is quite a number of eccle-

siastics and of seculars, you are the by-word of the public. If we were to say that these things do not displease us, we would greatly mistake. They displease us, indeed, more than we can say, for the ecclesiastical state is being despised, despised is our ministry ; and we appear as being made rich and exalted, not to live an honest life, but to have the means for revelry. Hence arises the contempt of princes and powers for us, hence the daily scoffing of the laity, hence also the reproofs of our own conduct, when we want to reprehend others. The Vicar of Christ himself is subject to scorn, because they believe him to wink at such behavior. You preside, beloved son, over the church of Valencia, which is one of the most distinguished among the churches of Spain, you have the government also of the pontifical chancery, and, what makes your act all the more reprehensible, you sit with the Pontiff among the cardinals as a counselor of the Roman See. We leave it to yourself to judge whether it seems becoming your high offices to flatter girls, to send them fruit now and then, to taste wine and then have it carried to the one that you like, to be the whole day long an interested spectator of all kinds of amusements ; finally, in order that all may be done with more freedom, to exclude their husbands and friends. We get blamed on your account, people blame Calixtus of happy memory, your uncle, who seems to have been very much lacking in judgment when accumulating honors upon you. You should not allege your age as an excuse, for your age is not so tender any more, that you should not understand the greatness of the burden that your dignity should sustain. It behooves a cardinal to be irreproachable, a salutary example of a moral life, whose personality must be useful not only to the hearts but also to the eyes of all. We become indignant and angry when secular princes address us with

less honorable titles, when they disturb us in the possession of our benefices, when we are compelled to submit to their mandates. It is we who inflict those wounds on ourselves and are the cause of our sufferings ; while acting in such a manner, that even the authority of the Church be more despised from day to day. We bear the shame of our conduct in this world, and in the next we shall suffer its deserved penalty. Let, therefore, Your Eminence put an end to those frivolities, remember your dignity and be not willing to bear, among young men and women, the name of a gallant. Should actions of the kind take place again, we would be obliged to show that they happen against our will and to our sorrow, and our remonstrance could not but make you blush. We have always loved you and considered you worthy of our protection, as being the man whom we have seen to be a model of gravity and modesty. Allow us to retain long yet that same opinion and conviction, which nothing will procure better than the embracing of a more serious life. Your years, that still promise amendment, direct us to admonish you in a fatherly way. If you had allowed yourself all that at the age of your companion, we would not do you such a service of charity. Given at Petriolo, the 11th of June, 1460 [36].

This impassioned reproach, as no other pope ever addressed to a cardinal, seems to be cutting and compromising enough to satisfy any enemy of Roderic de Borgia ; yet, some historians have mistranslated it, so as to render it more humiliating still. Thus, de l'Epinois [37] translates " ut liberior vobis esset voluptandi facultas " by : that you might more freely abandon yourselves to voluptuousness ; as if Aeneas Sylvius had written modern French and not

36. See Document 69.

37. Rev. des Quest. Hist. Vol. 29, p. 366.

classic Latin. Again, he renders " soli auctores hortatoresque chorearum eratis " with : you incited to the dances and took part in them yourselves. Farther yet, he exaggerates and misrepresents the phrase : " omne genus voluptatis spectare ", or to look at the various kinds of amusements, with : to give yourselves up to all sorts of carnal pleasures. Gregorovius [38] and Pastor [39] likewise aggravate the term " spectare " by the rendering : to devise all sorts of sensualities.

Nearly all writers have noticed that the papal brief contains no proof, not even the assertion of the objective truth of the charges made. Pope Pius II explicitly and repeatedly states that he takes them from hearsay, popular rumor: " We heard, it is told, they say ". Nor did he make any inquiry, for if he did, he would have said so, not to appear rash and to give more weight to his rebuke. This weak point has justly been set forth by Leonetti [40]. H. de l'Epinois [41] answers that the Pope had spent four days in taking information and reflecting ; but the Pope mentions only " they say ", and he was hardly fit to calmly consider under the sudden shock of his surprise and seeming disappointment in his old esteem and love for the cardinal.

Neither did he have four days to inquire. " Nudius quartus " does not mean four days past, as Gregorovius also [42] seems to admit. " Nudius tertius " is the well-known equivalent of our day before yesterday ; and a fact, which I say this morning to have taken place the night before last, or little more than one day ago, has happened " nudius tertius ". " Nudius quartus " adds but one day. C. Douais also notices [43] the error which de l'Epinois makes

38 Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 8.
39. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 589.
40. Papa Alessandro VI, Vol. I, p. 166.
41. Rev. des Quest. Hist. Vol. 29, p 368.
42. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 7.
43. La Controverse, an. 1883, p 89.

in order to lessen the surprise caused by the Pontiff's hasty reproof. His adversaries, he adds, take advantage of his mistake.

The Pontiff's letter is dated the 11th of June, 1460—it may be, in the morning. Hence cardinal Roderic pretendedly misbehaved on the 8th, " Nudius quartus ", in the afternoon. It must have taken a few hours, at least, before the fathers, husbands and brothers could hear what had taken place at the feast, tell it all over the city and cause universal irrision, not of themselves, as we might presume, but, of the frivolous cardinal. There was no night train between Siena and Petriolo, and the reporters could not well start on their errand of amusing gossip before the 9th, neither could they arrive in Petriolo, at a distance of from fifteen to twenty miles over a rough mountain road, before noon that day. They were not complainants, to go and denounce the cardinal before the Pope, otherwise this detail would be found in the brief, that mentions only the uncertain " they say " ; but we might hear them that night spreading the fun among the sportive bathers of Petriolo. On the following day, the 10th, Roderic became here also the object of derision of the public, and the Pontiff's attendants finally revealed the humiliating news to him. Pope Pius II wrote his epistle on the 11th. From these details it follows that he could not have had four days, but hardly twenty-four hours to reflect upon the rumors of Petriolo. In fact, the probability is that the Pontiff, overwhelmed by the scandal and by the fear of his young friend's ruin, wrote at once under the painful impressions of the moment, without any critical consideration of what he had heard fully developed at third or fourth hand.

For fear of lessening the credibility of the accusations,

Pastor[44] wisely suppresses the chronological data of the letter and whispers not a word of the twice mentioned most odious crimination, which, indeed, is simply incredible and discredits all the other charges.

The papal brief reports that a large number of Siena's ladies were coming to an outing at de Bichis's park, where the two cardinals were resting. They were accompanied, as was becoming, by their fathers, husbands or brothers. But lo, at the gate there was posted a doorkeeper, not unlikely one of Roderic's valets, who politely admitted the finely arrayed women, but gravely told their chaperons that the cardinals did not want to be restrained by their presence in the looked-for amusements with the ladies. The gentlemen could not help suspecting something wrong; yet, humbly submitted, surrendered their beautiful wards and resigned themselves to walking along the dreary outside of the garden walls for five long hours, under the rays of a broiling summer sun, patiently stepping along till the cardinals should let go their wives and daughters who, pitiless themselves towards their husbands and nearest relatives, did not tire of competing for the love of an ecclesiastic! What should we think of these ladies of Siena's higher society, and what of those gentlemen, poltroons enough to abandon the ladies in their care, and simpletons enough to bring home again the women that snubbed them, cruel enough to proclaim the disgraceful behavior of their wives and daughters? What should we think of the whole city, that derided the hero of the feast instead of the cavaliers, who had with abject cowardice waited at the gate? Douais says[45] that Leonetti should have established the calumnious character of the accusa-

44. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 589.

45. La Controverse, an. 1883, p. 81.

tions and did not do it ; but are not such details sufficient to denounce the slander ? That whole story is simply ridiculous and morally impossible, although not incredible to the enemies of pope Alexander VI.

Indeed, these hostile writers believe it all, even after they have made it more offensive by their mistranslations and interpolations ; they naturally jump at it, as at the solitary basis of their impure imputations.

And here they finish the case, suppressing all defense and the verdict itself of the better-informed judge, turning the arraignment into a final condemnation, styled in the most odious terms. Thus Raynaldi [46] asserts that cardinal Borgia, disgracing the Church by his lasciviousness in Siena, was, on account of his bad morals, chastized by pope Pius. Gregorovius [47] calls the Pontiff's brief a picture of a shameful revelry of Roderic Borgia ; Pastor [48], a ray of light on Roderic's immoral life ; C. Douais [49] styles the Pontiff's letter a rebuke of the cardinal's veritable infamies. And, what appellation does the rigid Pope, the writer of the brief himself apply to those so-called infamies and immoralities ? He blames cardinal Roderic de Borgia for his extraordinary act of frivolity or foolishness, " vanitas ", by which he has made himself, not a cause of horror or scandal, but, an object of fun and derision to the public of Siena and of Petriolo, " irrideri, fabula " ; and all he demands is that he should again become more serious, " vite gravioris assumptio ", as he had always seen him to be.

To what else, indeed, does the whole story amount,

46. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1460, no. XXXI.
47. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 7.
48. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 598.
49. La Controverse, an. 1883, p. 81.

after it is divested of its impossible exaggerations and recent additions? In the honorable company of an old cardinal, Roderic had gone for an afternoon's recreation to the Bichis's gardens, " alla vigna ", as the Italians still say ; where wine, fruits and macaroni " alle poma d'oro " were for sale. When they were there, a bevy of ladies walked in for amusement's sake, and had a dance in the presence, or perhaps in honor of the high dignitaries. So had pope Pius II himself been honored with a ball at his solemn reception in Florence, a year before [50]. Dances were not lascivious then as they are often today, the terpsichorean art was reserved mainly to the ladies, who danced singly or among themselves. H. de l'Epinois [51] overlooked this custom of the time, when interpolating the papal brief, to make the cardinals dance. Roderic is, on the contrary, indicated as keeping himself at a respectable distance from the frolicking women ; for he is reported, not as giving or handing, but as sending or forwarding, " missitare, mictere ", wine or fruit to them.

Should Roderic have been a secular young man, it would be hard to find fault with him ; but, if there is any truth in the story, he should, as a bishop and a cardinal, have been more edifying, by shortening his recreation and being less courteous and attentive to the ladies.

We can readily imagine the effect of the Pontiff's letter upon cardinal de Borgia, his surprise and disgust at being condemned without a hearing. Nor was he slow in answering the reprimand. We are sorry not to have found the terms in which he did so ; but, from the rejoinder of pope Pius II, we can easily infer the substance of his letter. He disproved the accusations that were totally false, expo-

50. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 40 and footn. 2.

51. Rev. des Quest. Hist. Vol. 29, p. 366.

sed the exaggerations and misrepresentations of the others, and pretended that his behavior on the occasion had been absolutely guiltless and blameless. He begged the Pontiff to alter his opinion, and believe him to be still the man whom he had ever known him to be ; finally, for the sake of due respect, he asked him to forgive what might yet appear to be unbecoming in his actions.

Pastor deserves credit for mentioning the answer of the cardinal and the Pontiff's rejoinder, although he belittles the significance of both, and neutralizes the favorable impression naturally made by the Pontiff's words, when adding, on no good grounds, that Roderic continued his scandalous life [52]. Rhetoric teaches that all weak and poor arguments should be massed together to produce any effect. The historian follows this rule by anticipating four years to formulate and introduce another blemish. We shall bide the proper time to consider the latter and, first, point out the termination of the former charge.

No sooner had the Pope received the statements of cardinal de Borgia, than he dispatched to him the following brief, only three days after the first : Beloved son etc. We have received the letter of Your Eminence and taken notice of the apology that you set forth. Your act, beloved son, could not be without any culpability, although it may be less to blame than it was at first represented to us. We exhort you to abstain in the future from such occasions, and to take care of your honor with greater prudence. We grant you the pardon that you ask from us ; nor, had we not loved you as our special son, would we have so lovingly admonished you ; for it is written : Whom I love I censure and chastise. So long as you shall do right and live

52. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 590, 591.

modestly, you shall not be without a father and protector of yourself and of those dear to you, and you shall not have much to wish that your uncle, our predecessor, were still alive, as long as Pius lives. Given etc. the 14th of June [53].

The Pope's two letters differ in tone and substance like day and night : In the former, Roderic was a disgrace to his deceased uncle and to the reigning Pontiff ; in the latter he is Pius's beloved favorite son ; there he was threatened with shameful exposure, here he is promised fatherly protection and such benefactions as shall make him forget the death of his loving uncle. Here the Pontiff acknowledges that he has been deceived by the cardinal's accusers. What more of a retractation can we expect from a superior, whose rash or unjust dealing with an inferior should be amended in a dignified manner, by the concession of subsequent favors? We shall have occasion to observe that pope Pius II, keeping his promise, followed that method of compensation, till the end of his life, towards Roderic de Borgia. As ever before, the Pontiff was intimate with the cardinal and continued to put him under special obligations, in a manner, actually, as if this much controverted incident had never had any reality whatever.

We should here add a corollary of no mean importance : The behavior of the cardinal in the Sienese garden, called a frivolity by a Pope of a very austere life [54], was known at once and scoffed at all over Siena, and Roderic was soon reported to pope Pius II, who reproved him severely. But, at the same time and for more than twenty consecutive years, the same Roderic was leading a most scandalous life in Rome, if we should believe the enemies of pope Alexander VI. Here he lived, they say, in sacrilegious concubinage with a

53. See Document 70.

54. Hartman Schedel, Chronicarum Liber..

certain Zanozia, a Roman courtesan [55], or, as Gregorovius and others generally call her, Vannoza Catanei, a much-married woman who received also the visits of Roderic's friends, quite a number of Spanish and of Roman gentlemen. While giving a few children to her husbands, she successively presented no less than seven to cardinal de Borgia [56]. Of these, Jeronima was born about the year 1461 or 1462, Pedro Luis during the latter year, or, rather, already in 1458 ; and Jofre in A. D. 1482.

It certainly requires an amount of credulity to believe such assertions ; but more wonderful, indeed, is the statement that the long-lasting intrigue remained a perfect secret ; not one of Roderic's attendants or servants knew of it, no man saw him frequent the questionable house, not a competitor suspected his successful rival, her husbands remained in blissful ignorance, nay, the accomplice herself never spoke a compromising word !

This is imposing too much upon a common reader's belief; and, if a few persons, if one at least, then many must have known the cardinal's gross and lasting immorality, and there follows another, a moral marvel : Was there not in Rome some Infessura to speak of it in his diary, or a Sanazzaro to enrich with such a well-fitted theme the filthy " Deliciae Poetarum Italorum " of the time ; was there not one of the gossiping ambassadors and envoys, to fill their daily dispatches with its real or imaginary details in order to let their masters enjoy a wicked laugh ; were there not in Rome, as in Siena and Petriolo, any sportive people or decent persons to publicly deride or condemn the cardinal's evil conduct, and thus make it impossible that the Pontiff should not hear of it ; was there not an enemy, a disgraced relative, an

55. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1492, n. XXVI, XXVII.

56. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, Art. I and II.

injured husband or a conscientious ecclesiastic, to prevent the continuance of the scandal, by formally impeaching the evildoer, before any of the four Popes under whose reigns he was thus misbehaving ?

Finally, if pope Pius II or any of his successors should have been informed of the alleged facts, or requested to apply the laws of the Church, these Pontiffs, who threatened the most severe penalties against similar crimes, could not have winked at such a life right under their eyes. But the fact is, on the contrary, that pope Pius II wrote to the cardinal, probably two years after the birth of his first imputed bastard and immediately before that of his second, on the 11th of June, 1460 : " We have always loved you and considered you worthy of our protection, as being the man whom we have seen to be a model of gravity and modesty ". We shall observe as we go along, how every one of the next following Supreme Pontiffs placed in cardinal de Borgia the utmost confidence, continued to overload him with revenues and dignities and occasionally praised him for the excellence of his virtues [57].

We cannot help thinking that Gregorovius, Pastor and others of their opinion, jeopardize their impartiality or their logic, when pretending that Roderic got any children at the time that he was a cardinal. A syllogism that leads to false and incredible conclusions, like those implied in the remarks just made, must necessarily be false in its minor premise, the guilt of cardinal de Borgia.

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57. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Sixti IV, Brevia, t. 15, f° 351 ; Ibid., Regest. 546, f° 62, etc.

ARTICLE III. — CARDINAL DE BORGIA DURING PIUS II'S LAST YEARS.

Pope Pius II remained quite a while at Petriolo or other adjoining bathing places, and cardinal de Borgia was keeping himself ready for, or actually at work in, his service, as vice-chancellor or as his loyal friend. On his return to Rome, the Pontiff, accompanied by Roderic, passed again through Pienza, to inspect the cathedral and the episcopal palace, which, respectively, he and the cardinal were building. Noticing the generous outlay made by the latter, he granted to him, right there and then, another benefice, namely, the administration of the Cistercian monastery of the Blessed Mary of the Rock, in the diocese of Taragona. The bull is dated from Corsignano, on the 21st of September, 1460 [58]. They arrived in Viterbo on the 30th of the same month, and the cardinal alighted at the house of Nardo Mazzatosta, adjoining the church of St. Simon [59].

We can easily imagine that the vicechancellor found, after his long absence, enough to keep him engaged at his offices in Rome during the next winter. The following year, 1461, was very expensive for cardinal de Borgia. While yet paying for the episcopal palace of Pienza, he was called upon to spend a not inconsiderable sum of money towards maintaining the integrity of the Pontifical States. An advanced Renaissance education had made Sigismond Malatesta, the lord of Rimini, an actual pagan and the blackest criminal of Italy, a rebel vassal of the Pope and a blood-thirsty tyrant of his subjects. The Pontiff was compelled to send troops against him, and the members of the Sacred

58. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii, de Curia, an. II, t. X, Regest. 477, fo 237vo.

59. Nic. della Tuccia, Cronaca, p. 80.

College contributed needed help on this occasion. In particular the cardinal of Naples, a prince of royal blood, generously put in the field eight horse, that is in the military language of the time, twenty-four men, at his pay ; but cardinal de Borgia excelled him by contributing ten horse [60]. The war expenses were increased in consequence of an advantage gained by Malatesta, who, aided by the Venetians, put to flight the papal army in a first encounter, on the 2d of July 1461 [61].

Two extraordinary religious festivities gave to the cardinal inviting occasions for costly magnificence during the year 1462. Pope Pius II had decided to celebrate with great pomp and solemnity the translation of the great relic, the head of St. Andrew, to be placed by the side of the holy remains of his glorious brother, the Apostle St. Peter. He had set Palm Sunday, the 11th of April, as the day for the grand occasion and given orders that all cardinals and members of his court should co-operate, in ornamenting the streets where the procession had to pass. Pastor relates [62] that the most prominent citizens of Rome and the cardinals, especially Alain and Borgia, emulated one another in beautifying their palaces. Ciaconius [63], and Gregorovius [64] state, following Gobellinus [65], that Roderic, the vicechancellor, by far excelled all others in expenditures, labor and good taste. The ground was strewn with flowers and aromatic plants, his tall and spacious dwelling, at the old mint, was hung with rich and admirable draperies, and he had erected over the street a high canopy, from which were suspended many and various wonderful ornaments. Nor had he adorned his own house

60. de l'Epinois, Rev. des Quest. Hist. t. XXIX, p. 386.
61. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 84, 88.
62. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 182.
63. Vitae Roman. Pontiff., t. II, col. 991.
64. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 201.
65. Pii II, Comment., p. 199.

only but all those of the neighorhood also, so that the beautifully bedecked quarter looked like a paradise ; and in it resounded sweet music and songs ; while, in places, it was resplendent with gold, as, they say, the palace of Nero once was. There were also to be read on its walls a great number of lays, recently composed by selected poets, written in large letters and containing praises of the holy Apostle and greetings to Pius, the Pontiff.

A few days after, on the 23d of April, cardinal de Borgia received a new token of the Pope's kind esteem, when he was made administrator, for life, of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Mary of Rivipula, in the diocese of Vich, in Catalonia [66].

It was only two months later when pope Pius II found another occasion to manifest his good will towards Roderic de Borgia. Some doubt was raised about the rights of the cardinal to collect the revenues of certain priories in the diocese of Pamplona, granted to him by his uncle, Calixtus III ; but pope Pius II stood by him, and cut short all further contest by confirming, on the 4th of July, 1461, the concessions of his predecessor [67].

Suffering more than usual pains from chronic gout, pope Pius II was carried out of Rome, on the 17th of May, 1462, in search of relief, to the baths of Viterbo, where he arrived on the following Friday, accompanied by seven cardinals, one of whom again was the Vicechancellor, Roderic de Borgia [68].

The feast of Corpus Christi was to take place on Thursday, the 17th of the following month. The Pontiff resolved to

66. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii II de Curia, an. II, III, t. XIII, Regest. 480, f° 169.

67. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii II, de Curia, an. III, t. XIV, Regest. 481, f° 227vo.

68. Nic. della Tuccia, Cronaca, p. 84 ; Gobellinus, Pii II, Comment. p. 206.

celebrate it with all possible medieval solemnity. He announced a grand procession and a plenary indulgence for all who would assist ; and gave charge to all cardinals, bishops and other dignitaries present at his court, to partition among themselves the streets and public places through which the Most Sacred Host should be carried, reserving for himself the starting place of the procession [69].

To cardinal de Borgia, whose principal devotion always was towards the Blessed Sacrament, had been allotted the large share, a distance of seventy-four steps, from the street that leads to the Tremoli bridge to past the St. Stephen's fountain including the whole public square. All this space he protected from the rays of the sun with innumerable and most beautiful tapestries, and hung all the surrounding walls with draperies not less elegant in their material than in their artistic arrangement, and adorned so well that they not only fixed the attention of the ignorant, but were also a delight for the eyes and the hearts of the learned. He erected an altar rich with gold and silver and, at the portal of St. Stephen's church, a repository covered with silk and guarded by two banners bearing the escutcheons of the cardinal's uncle, Calixtus III, and of his brother, Pedro Luis, once prefect of Rome ; he surrounded the fountain with twelve arches, adorned with painted cloth [70], and the fountain was made to yield not only water but the best of wines also, through various apertures. At the head of the cardinal's section, a blue and purple curtain shutt off from view the images, the dramatic personages and the adorned chapel with its precious repository, When the Pontiff was approaching, two children, arrayed as angels and sweetly singing, came forth, bent their knee in adoration of the Host and greeted the Pontiff. They

69. Ibidem, ibid.
70. Della Tuccia, ubi supra.

returned behind the curtain and sang in a loud and melodious voice : " Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and the king Pius, the Lord of the world, shall enter in ". On the inside were five kings in magnificent regalia and a cohort of armed men, who seemed to forbid the entrance, but the angels continued singing : " And who is that king Pius ? ", and they answered, because of the Sacrament which Pius was solemnly carrying : " He is the Lord, the Powerful on earth ". When hearing this answer, the watchmen removed the curtain and made the access free ; and simultaneously there resounded trumpets, organs and many other musical instruments ; and the kings made their reverence to the Pontiff, alternately reciting, with harmonious and melodious voices, heroic verses in his honor [71]. When the Pontiff had proceeded to St. Stephen's fountain, there appeared a live allegory before him : a man—twelve men, della Tuccia says—from the woods, leading others, disguised in the shape of captive lions and bears, with whom they were wrestling successfully. The cardinal had finished his part of the decorations with a triumphal arch, built in the shape of a castle guarded by armed soldiers, who with brass cannons imitated thunder and greatly scared those passing under it [72].

It is not stated that cardinal de Borgia excelled his colleagues on this occasion. All were as liberal as their means would allow. Others also exhibited dramatic performances, " Mysteries ", as they called these pious beginnings of the modern stage, such as the Institution of the Holy Eucharist, where St. Thomas Aquinas acted as manager ; the Resurrection of Our Lord and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. All such symbolical scenes were well understood, and they were the delight of the thousands of people who

71. Gobellinus, ubi supra.
72. Nic. della Tuccia, Cronaca, p. 86 ; Gobellinus, Pii II, Comment., p. 208, seq.

had gathered from far and near in the city of Viterbo. All who had beheld the wonders, the good order and the splendor of the streets, declared that they had been in the dwelling place, not of men, but of the Saints, and had seen with mortal eyes the image of the heavenly fatherland [73].

An important event had, shortly before, taken place in Venice. The doge, Malipiero, who cared not for the neighboring nations, nor for the safety of religion and civilization, if only the city merchants could continue making money by their traffic with the Turks, had died on the 5th of May, 1462, and been replaced, on the 12th, with Christoforo Moro, whose election gave hopes to the papal court that Venice would, at last co-operate with the Roman Pontiff to save Europe from the ravages of the murderous infidels. The Pope sent special ambassadors to congratulate the new duke, and several of the cardinals wrote to him, expressing their pleasure at his accession, and their confidence in his dispositions towards the cause of holy religion. We should not wonder if cardinal de Borgia, who had inherited the zeal of his uncle, Calixtus III, for the protection of christian Europe, should have been one of the first to write. His letter was forwarded from Viterbo on the 1st of June, 1462 [74].

Pope Pius II bestowed a more than usual favor upon him about this time. Gams [75], indeed, reports that Lopez de Ribas died in the year 1462, as bishop of Carthagena in the Spanish province of Murcia, and gives, as his immediate successor, Roderic de Borgia, who, when afterwards pope Alexander VI, testified that he had been administrator, both in temporal and spiritual concerns, of that diocese, until his assumption to the supreme pontificate [76]. As we have

73. Gobellinus, Ibid.
74. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 218, footn. 2.
75. Series Episc., p. 24.
76 Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Bullar. an. I, t. V, Regest. 776, f° 13.

noticed before, he gave, in the year 1468, the actual care of this diocese, as also of that of Valencia, to the Venerable James Perez, bishop of Christopolis i. p. i.

To give to the administrator bishop of Carthagena a means to improve his diocese, although it was professedly to favor his attendants and other men of merit, pope Sixtus IV granted, on the 20th of November, 1480, to cardinal de Borgia the right of appointing, with the advice of the cathedral chapter, or at his sole personal choice, to all the benefices of the diocese of Carthagena, even though they should be curial benefices, or have been reserved already to any one by the Apostolic See [77].

Such a sweeping measure could not but disagreeably affect a number of persons, both lay and cleric, who were not the most regular observers of the laws of the Church. To free themselves of a strict ruler endowed with such powers, they tried to find some flaw in his very appointment as commendator bishop ; but the Pope, to answer to all their objections, appointed the cardinal over again, by way of precaution, " potioris cautele suffragio ", with a carefully worded bull, and, on the 8th of July, 1482, he dispensed him in the simultaneous possession of his other dioceses, the church of Santa Maria in Via lata and of all his other benefices [78].

Thus reenforced in his jurisdiction over Carthagena, the cardinal administrator prescribed statutes for the reform of abuses, but he met with little success. Religious solemnities were much neglected by the clergy, in so far that, in the year 1485, there were only four cathedral canons who regularly attended their choir services. Their bishop then had recourse to the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff, and, on the 6th of July, 1485, pope Innocent VIII issued a bull,

77. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV, Bullar. Lib. LIV, t. LIX, Regest. 604, f° 160.

78. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV, Bullar. Lib. LXX, Regest. 620, f° 203vo.

ordering that the canons of Carthagena should be deprived of their revenues for the time of their absence [79].

Satisfied with the care which cardinal de Borgia bestowed upon the spiritual interests of the Carthagenian diocese, the same Pontiff granted him, on the 7th of November, 1486, a temporal favor, by exempting him from further paying to another cardinal a pension of five hundred gold ducats from his income of that See [80].

The paths of cardinal de Borgia were not smooth in his diocese of Carthagena. The temporal lords were stealing, either in part or altogether, the Church revenues due to the bishop, the canons of the cathedral, the parish priests and to all other beneficiaries ; they publicly forbade their subjects to become collectors or farmers of ecclesiastical incomes, and claimed for themselves all such offices at unjust prices, depriving the clergy of their revenues, to such an extent, that even divine service and religious solemnities suffered more and more from it. They boldly violated both ecclesiastical and divine law. The bishop, cardinal de Borgia, unable to correct the evil by himself, had recourse to the Sovereign Pontiff, and Innocent VIII published, on the 22d of October, 1491, a bull forbidding, under pain of excommunication and local interdict, any and all temporal superiors, to henceforth interfere directly or indirectly with the collection or farming out of the tithes or other revenues, due to " Roderic, bishop of Porto, vicechancellor of the Roman Church and administrator of the Church of Carthagena ", or to any clergyman of this diocese ; and he reserved the absolution of those censures to himself and his successors, to

79. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Innoc. VIII, Secreta, an. I, t. II, Regest. 683, f° 476vo.

80. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Innoc. VIII, Secret., an. I, II, III, t. I, Regest. 682, f° 466.

cardinal de Borgia and the next bishops of Carthagena or their vicars in matters spiritual [81].

When, in A. D. 1492, the diocese of Valencia was raised to the rank of an archdiocese, Carthagena, formerly under the immediate supervision of the Roman court, was attached to it, and Roderic de Borgia became a suffragan to himself.

The bishop administrator of Carthagena, when elected to the See of St. Peter, transferred the commendam of that diocese, on the 27th of April, 1493, to Baptista Zeno, then cardinal of Sts. John and Paul [82].

We further learn from Ximeno [83], that the kindness of pope Pius II towards his old friend de Borgia seemed to be inexhaustible ; or, should he, possibly, have written the rebuke which we copied before, we might conclude that the Pontiff followed the practical rule of a superior, who never explicitly apologizes to an inferior, but compensates with unearned favors any wrong done against him. It is, indeed, reported by Vincente Ximeno that, during the pontificate of Pius II, Roderic de Borgia took up the administration of the dioceses, not only of Carthagena, but also of Majorca in the Balearic Islands.

It was probably also pope Pius II who invested the cardinal with the priory of St. Paul outside the walls of Rome ; for, when pope Alexander VI bestowed this benefice upon cardinal John Baptist Savelli, in October 1492, he stated that he himself had held its commendam for a long time, " per longa tempora " [84].

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81. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 689, f° 4.

82. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar. an. I, t. V, Regest. 776, f° 13. Gams, ubi supra, by mistake gives the name : Bernardin Lopez de Carajal, instead of Baptista Zeno.

83. Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, t. I, p. 67.

84. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. I, t. III, Regest. 774, f° 72vo.

During the following year the Pope had little to give and much to request. The grand-priory, a high dignity in the Augustinian church of Tortosa, having become vacant, was granted to the cardinal on the 14th of April, 1463. It brought an income of three hundred pound small tournois [85].

The expedition against the Turks was to commence the next year. The Pope was ordering the collection of tithes wherever it was possible, and begging for men, material of war and vessels from kings, princes and cities. Five of the richest cardinals, the city of Bologna and the duke of Este ordered, each, one galley or trireme at the shipyards of Venice [86]. Cardinal de Borgia, consulting his zeal more than his pecuniary resources, promised one also, and had her built, equipped, armed and provisioned in due time. But as the work was progressing, his expenses grew faster than his income, and he saw himself compelled to devise extraordinary ways and means, in order to meet the heavy bills continually coming.

The cardinal magnanimously resolved to sacrifice all he owned, his palatial dwelling. He offered to sell it back to the papal treasury, on the condition apposed by pope Calixtus III when he sold to him the old mint, namely, on the reimbursement of the purchase price, two thousand gold florins, and of the cost of rebuilding and fitting it up for its present purposes ; but the Pontifical Camera was in no condition to buy real estate. Although entitled to do so, he did not sell to any other party, but drew an amount of ready money through a mortgage or emphyteusis of the whole or part of the palace. His right in so doing was confirmed by pope Pius II, who, on the 10th of July, 1464, issued from the city of Fabriano a bull allowing him to

85. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii II, de Curia, an. V, VI, t. XXV, Regest. 492, fo 269vo.

86. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 233, footn. 5.

encumber, mortgage or sell his home, or to transfer it under any other contract, " because ", the Pontiff says, " you have at your own expenses procured a perfectly well equipped and armed galley for the fleet, that is soon to set sail against the Turks [87].

This act of borrowing, whatever its nature may have been, caused no little inconvenience to cardinal de Borgia. He, no doubt, to curtail daily expenses, reduced the number of his attendants ; but the space in his palace, if any was left to his use, was smaller than he needed. Fortunately, he succeeded in renting, near by, accommodations for dwelling and offices, " pro ipsius usu et habitacione ". The monastery of St. Blasius was vacant since twenty-five years and had been united with St. Peter's basilica, provided its chapter should build a public library. Cardinal Roderic applied for the use of some outbuildings and houses belonging to the monastery ; he promised to keep them in repair, to pay three hundred florins to St. Peter's chapter at once, and two hundred to defray the ground for the library, and to offer each year two candles worth one florin, as rent. On these conditions the chapter gave him possession of the houses and of a small garden ; and Pope Pius II, taking into consideration the cardinal's great need, approved and confirmed the bargain, on the 13th of August, 1463 [88].

The regular income of cardinal de Borgia, from his vice-chancellery, his numerous benefices and dignities and from his dioceses, even though increased by the lien upon his palace, was still unequal to his expenses. He applied to the Pontiff for permission to impose an extraordinary tax,

87. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii II. De Curia, Regest. 497, f° 169vo ; Alex. VI Secret. an. I, II, III, lib. III. Regest. 869, f° 35 ; Cfr. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1464, no. XXXVII ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste. Bd. II, s. 233, footn. 5.

88. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii II, de Curia, an. V, VI, t. 25 Regest. 492, f° 269vo.

" subsidium charitativum ", on the beneficiaries of his Valencian diocese ; and pope Pius II, considering the pension of five thousand florins, which he paid to the archbishop of Saragossa every year, and his expenditures at the cathedral of Valencia, besides those required to keep up his cardinalitial dignity, granted him the requested favor on the 1st of September, 1463 [89].

A last expedient was left him to tide over the depletion of his treasury, to the further detriment, however, of his future finances. With the consent of pope Pius II, he rented out for a total sum, payable at once, all the revenues from his diocese of Valencia, for the space of the next three years. Meanwhile the farmer of the income was secured by an unusual concession of the Pope, who, on the 1st of October, 1463, made the provision that, should cardinal de Borgia cease in any manner to be the bishop of Valencia, the receipts for sums paid would remain valid, and the succeeding bishop could not claim the income before the end of the stipulated three years [90].

Facts like these ought to put to shame a Gilbert, who writes of Roderic de Borgia [91] : " When still young he commenced hoarding money, that it might ultimately be his stepping stone to the chair of St. Peter ".

Such were the mischievous but unavoidable means to pay for his excessive liberality. He afterwards, however, satisfied the lien on his palace, and recruited his finances by his simple way of living.

While making the last preparations for his naval expedition against the Turks, pope Pius II wanted to personally meet the authorities of Siena, his former home, who did not respond to his expectations from that city's assistance,

89. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii II de Curia, Regest. 493, f° 49.

90. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 493, f° 50.

91. Lucr. Borgia, vol. I, p. 52.

requested by several of his letters and through their envoy in Rome [92]. Niccola della Tuccia reports [93] that he departed from Rome on Monday, February the 6th, 1464, arrived in Viterbo on a Tuesday, took one day's rest, and left for Siena the next Thursday [94]. He notices that the Pope had taken along with him five cardinals, one of whom again was the vicechancellor ; and it was well for him to have in his company this loyal friend, for his sufferings increased so that he had to be carried back to Rome.

Should cardinal de Borgia truly have misbehaved and made himself ridiculous all over Siena, a short time before, we might well wonder why the Pontiff did not spare him the shame of appearing before his former deriders, and not choose the company of another cardinal, instead of one whose presence could not be but prejudicial to his interests.

Pope Pius II had proclaimed a crusade against the Moslem invaders, at the conclusion of the Congress of Mantua, in the beginning of the year 1460, and was ever since almost exclusively devoting his energy to win powers and princes in its favor, and to gather material means for its success. The result of his efforts remained, however, insignificant ; only a few of the cardinals themselves promised him definite assistance, while others frankly declared themselves opposed to the undertaking.

On the 23d of September, 1463, he convened a secret consistory, at which he tried ineloquent, yet plain terms, to stir to self-sacrifice the members of the Sacred College. Now, he said, is the time for the expedition to be made, the time for the cardinals to show whether their promises were sincere or hypocritical. The temporal princes and the people, he added, do not listen to us, and accuse the Pope

92. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 229.
93. Cronaca, p. 89.
94. Pope Pius II arrived in Siena on the 21st of February : Pastor, ubi supra, s. 241, footn. 1.

and the Sacred College of hoarding money, of riding on fat mules and spirited horses, of keeping dogs for the chase, and of doing nothing for the defense of Holy Faith. These charges are not wholly untrue, he declared [95].

Without any provocation or other perceptible reason, Dr. von Pastor allows himself here to interrupt his beautiful report of the Pontiff's address by an odious slur, in the form of a footnote, as follows : " The rebuke was evidently an allusion to the life of cardinal Borgia " ; and, as proof, he refers to a similar slanderous statement of his. By this footnote Pastor implicitly accuses cardinal de Borgia of leading a worldly, sportive life ; but we shall, in due time, establish that the very contrary is historical truth, that his daily life was active and studious, retired and frugal. He accuses him of hoarding money and giving nothing for the defense of the faith ! Was this injustice to be expected from the great historian who states [96], that he has carefully searched the registers of Pius II, that is of the Pope who, by several bulls, enabled the cardinal to pay his debts and thanked him for his generous largess towards the defense of religion ?

Pastor continues to recount how the Pope further said : In vain did we call on kings and princes to " go " forth against the Turks ; probably will our invitation, " come along ", have a better effect. He, therefore, had resolved to personally set out against the invaders, and now solicited the members of the Sacred College to follow him. The French cardinals objected to the heroic plan, but the greater number of the others consented. Of these only one is mentioned here, cardinal Carvajal [97]. Roderic de Borgia, who was at that very time sacrificing what he had and what

95. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 226.
96. Ubi Supra, Bd. I, s. 589, footn. 2.
97. Pastor, ubi supra, Bd. II, s. 228.

he could expect within the next three years, placed himself also on the roll of honor, or, as Raynaldi states [98], made the vow of following the Pope.

The request for armed men, which the Pontiff had sent to all Catholic countries, had made a deep impression on the best, though lower, classes of society. During the months of May and June, 1464, thousands of crusaders from France, Belgium and Germany, even from Spain and Scotland were flocking together in Venice and in Ancona, at which latter city the Pontiff was to embark with his army. On the 18th of June pope Pius II bade adieu to Rome forever. He was so sickly and the heat was so great that his progress to Ancona was very slow. The cardinals de Borgia, Eroli and Estouteville joined the party of the Pope in the city of Terni. The whole neighborhood of this place was infected with a contagious disease, that attacked cardinal Ammanati in Spoleto and made him suffer for nearly two months. The Pontiff finally reached Ancona on the 19th of July, 1464.

Ancona and its suburbs were filled with several thousands of men, mostly French and Spanish. The condition of the city was every day becoming more critical. There were not houses enough to shelter the throngs of all ranks and conditions ; the Pope had a room for himself at the episcopal residence, but all other dignitaries, ecclesiastical, military and civil, were necessarily crowded, with their attendants, into close quarters. The whole city was, moreover, suffering from scarcity of drinkable water, and the distress was at its height when, in the beginning of the month of August, an epidemic broke out in Ancona, and it rapidly spread all over the Marches and neighboring territories [99]. In its violent beginnings, the plague not only claimed hundreds of

98. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1464, no. XXXVII.

99. In fact, it spread all over Italy and even over Europe.

victims among the congested crusaders, but also penetrated the dwellings of the cardinals and claimed several of the members of their household as its victims. Squads of foreigners fled from the place back to their homes.

Pastor says that cardinal de Borgia also left the town ; but, if he did, the next circumstances show that he remained in its proximate neighborhood, or returned at once. He did not escape the contagion. Nay, when, about the 9th of August, the physician saw him first, he despaired of his recovery. After a few days, however, all danger of death had vanished ; for, when pope Pius II, on the 14th, feeling his end approaching, had called the cardinals around his deathbed, cardinal de Borgia was present with most of his colleagues [100]. The Pope died on the following day, and the doge of Venice, who had, after long procrastination, arrived in the haven of Ancona, soon landed to consult with the Sacred College. Cardinals de Borgia and Barbo, who had also been struck by the pestilence, were unable to take part in the deliberations that put an end to the cherished enterprise of the venerable deceased.

The cardinals were anxious to assist at the next conclave and hurried back to Rome. Roderic de Borgia was able already to undergo the fatigue of the journey, and cast his vote at the papal election, on the last day of the same month of August, 1464. The cardinals Torquemada, Scarampo and Barbo were suffering still, and so also was cardinal de Borgia, who appeared among his colleagues with his head bandaged.

It was his right to crown with the tiara the new Pontiff, on the 16th of September, but, feeling unwell yet, he replaced himself with cardinal Forteguerri. On the 8th of October

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100. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 208.

he commenced to go out again, although the wound caused by the plague was not entirely healed, and, shortly after, his sufferings were forgotten [101].

We have borrowed from Pastor's great work all the details which he gives on cardinal de Borgia on this occasion, in order to disprove with his own data the most vicious of all his calumnies against pope Alexander VI. Already seven years before the event, he made use of this illness to establish his chosen thesis : that pope Alexander VI was a mean, immoral man [102]. After reporting [103] that the plague claimed many victims in the houses of the cardinals, he slips in a footnote, to repeat in a weakened form what he had positively asserted before : Borgia fled from Ancona, he says, but was taken ill nevertheless : " was man seinem unsittlichen Lebenswandel zuschrieb ", and they attributed this to his immoral life ! It is regrettable that Pastor does not tell who were these " man ", these " they ". Several contemporaries speak of the cardinal's illness, as they do of Ammanati's, Torquemada's, Scarampo's and Barbo's ; but not one of them, not even a later historian, makes the vile imputation, before the traducer of pope Alexander VI clearly intimates that de Borgia's malady was a shameful disease ; not Ammanati, not Gobellinus, not even Jacobus de Arretio quoted by Pastor.

And, on what grounds does he produce the novel calumny? In the year 1464, he says, pope Pius II went to Ancona to sail and fight against the Turks ; Roderic accompanied him, but this man, mean by nature, could not, even on this solemn occasion, resolve to moderate his criminal conduct. " Der Beweis ", the proof of it is to be found, he adds [104], in a dis-

101. Cfr. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 245-271, passim.

102. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s 591 and footn. 3.

103. Ibid. Bd. II, s. 251.

104. Ibid. Bd. I, s. 591 and footn. 3.

patch of Jacobus de Arretio to Lodovico Gonzaga, dated from Ancona on the 10th of August, 1464. De Arretio writes : " I also inform your Most Illustrious Lordship that the vice-chancellor is suffering with illness, and this is true ; he has pains in his ear and under his left arm... The physician who saw him first says that he has little hope for him, principally because he had, shortly before, not slept alone in bed " [105].

This is all the Mantuan envoy had to say about the malady. He was quite certain that the cardinal was suffering pain in his ear and below his arm, although he seemed to be less positive about his sleeping with a companion. Be that as it may ; but no unprejudiced reader would arrive at Pastor's " latius os " conclusion, especially when knowing that the " mal francese " was little or not at all heard of at the time, and was first introduced or developed during the invasion of Italy by king Charles VIII in the year 1494-1495. He would naturally understand from the communication that Roderic had been exposed to the contagion, under the most unfavorable circumstances, when obliged to sleep, in his crowded quarters of Ancona, with some of his attendants infected already, and that the physician had despaired of the patient's recovery by diagnosing the presence of an epidemic, that was sending so many people to their grave.

Alexis Caladonius, bishop of Gallipoli, who preached to the Sacred College, before the election of Pius III, in reviewing the life of pope Alexander VI, refers to this bodily disorder of cardinal de Borgia, by saying : He recovered when, still young, he was stricken by the plague, " Pestilentia correptus adhus juvenis praevaluit " [106].

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105. Anchora aviso V, Ill. S. come lo vicecancelliere e amalato de morbo et questo e vero ; ha la doglia nella urechia et sotto el braccio da quell canto... El medico che primo lo vidde dice haverne picc(ola) speranza, maxime quia paulo ante non solus in lecto dormiverat.

106. English Histor. Rev. Vol. VII, Apr. 1892, p. 311.

Not being a physician ourselves, we lay the dispatch of de Arretio and all of Pastor's particulars concerning the cardinal's illness before two doctors of medicine, and asked whether they could find in them anything reflecting on his morality. Dr. Ernst Sommer, well known in Portland, Oregon, for his medical knowledge and surgical skill,answered that there was no sympton whatever of venereal disease, and the fear or discouragement of the attending physician at his first visit, excludes all idea of such a disorder, which never entails any danger of death in its primary stage. The other, James J. Walsh, the dean of the medical faculty and professor of the History of medicine at the Fordham University of New York, wrote as follows : " With regard to the illness of cardinal Borgia which Pastor attributes to venereal disease, I quite agree with you that there is no venereal disease that would make a physician despair at the very beginning of the illness. There would be question, I suppose, of syphilis. There are a good many authorities who insist that syphilis was introduced into Europe toward the end of the fifteenth century. I am not of those who believe this, but this will snow you how uncertain we are with regard to the history of that time. The description and especially the occurrence of the affection underneath the left arm would probably point to plague. Real plague raged in Italy about this time and probably this was a case of bubonic plague. This, of course, would seriously disturb his physician and make the prognosis very dubious ". He adds : " It was not an unusual thing for even high dignitaries to sleep together at this time. The large Renaissance beds were built for three and four, and the customs of this time were very curious in this matter ".

We trust that these medical experts' opinions allow us to put aside this one more aspersion on the character of pope

Alexander VI, which, however, is so widely believed already that they may not succeed in wiping it out entirely. Cardinal de Borgia's colleagues thought better of him ; for, although he presented himself at the conclave with a wound from his sickness yet unhealed, and was but little over thirty years of age, he was spoken of, after the demise of pope Pius II as his possible next successor [107] !

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107. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 267.

CHAPTER VI.

Cardinal de Borgia under Paul II.

Cardinal Pietro Barbo, who had, like Roderic de Borgia, not quite recovered yet from the plague of Ancona, was elected Pope by " access " after the first voting, on the 30th of August, 1464 ; and took the name of Paul II. The Mantuan envoy, Arrivabene, wrote to the marchioness, on the following 2d day of September : " It is generally believed that the reverend monsignor the vicechancellor will be in high standing with the Pontiff ; and he has deserved it by his exertions at the election ". Two days after he wrote again : " The reverend lord vicechancellor has great influence with the Pope, and he has certainly earned it well [1].

In fact, among the great men with whom pope Paul II surrounded his throne, Roderic de Borgia seems to have been one of the most esteemed and favored. Pastor himself admits that he received signal tokens of kindness from this Pontiff [2].

Cannesius, in his Life of Paul II [3], remarks that this Pope did not grant any benefices inconsiderately nor at the request of even the highest dignitaries, but bestowed his favors according to virtue and services rendered ; and, at times, appointed to several dioceses worthy men, in their absence and without their knowledge. These laudable dispositions did not prevent him from conferring upon cardinal de Borgia

1. Ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, Docum. 67, and footn. 4.

2. Ibid., s. 349.

3. Ap. Muratori, Rerum Ital. Script. t. III. Part. 2, p. 1011.

benefits of various kinds, among which we found the following :

Pope Pius II had considerably reduced the valuable rights and privileges of the vicechancellor ; but, already on the 3d of December, 1464, the new Pope allowed him again to appoint a large percentage of the so-called " Abbreviatores " of the chancery, and to receive from those of his choice the sums of money payable at the time of their admission.

It is probable that pope Paul II gave in charge of cardinal Roderic the episcopal see of Murcia in Spain. The registers of the bishops of this diocese are incomplete, but Gams has discovered [4] that " Roderic de Borgia ", afterwards Alexander VI, was its administrator after the year 1462, and retained its government till about 1493, when he bestowed it upon cardinal Bernardino Lopez de Carvajal.

On the 25th of August, 1465, the same Pope gave him the privilege of conferring on ecclesiastics of his choice all the benefices of his diocese of Valencia, that might become vacant during the alternate months of February, April, June, August, October and December, in spite of the expectatives, or rights of succession, which he himself or his legate might have granted to others [5].

To help him meet the expenses entailed by his rank and duties, pope Paul II granted, on the 1st of February, 1469, for life, to cardinal de Borgia the archdeanery de Darocha in the cathedral of Saragossa ; but, on the 29th of the following month of January, the cardinal resigned this dignity and its prebend, probably in favor of one of his friends or relatives. The Pontiff mitigated, however, on

4. Series Episcoporum, p 24.
5. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pauli II. Secret., an. I, II. Lib. II, Regest., 525, fo 12vo.

this same day, his loss of revenue by securing him in the right of " regressus ", or reinstatement, should ever that benefice become vacant again [6].

The Pope had, in the beginning of his reign, assigned several pensions upon the episcopal revenue of the diocese of Talavera ; and among them, one of two hundred gold florins to Roderic de Borgia, who was also receiving a pension of five hundred florins from the bishop of Viseo. Shortly after, the Pontiff liberated from this yearly burden the small Portuguese diocese ; and, to compensate the cardinal's loss, granted him another pension of four hundred ducats from the bishop of Talavera. This last imposition filled, however, the measure of the poor bishop's burdens, and the Pope, to save from ruin the see of Talavera, was compelled to revoke, on the 10th of February, 1470, the various pensions which he had first laid upon it. The cardinal's right to the latter four hundred ducats remained intact ; but it would seem that even the payment of the reduced tax was a burden for the bishop ; for, on the 26th of March, 1474, he was admonished by pope Sixtus IV to pay his arrears to cardinal de Borgia [7].

Pope Paul II united with the diocese of Valencia the abbey of Valdegna, whose possession the cardinal was to obtain at the abbot's resignation or death.

Towards the end of the year 1470, the same Pontiff gave to cardinal de Borgia the right of transferring from one grave to another the mortal remains of his father, the knight Jauferdus de Borgia, and of his deceased brothers and sisters [8].

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6. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pauli II, Secret., t. I, Regest. 524, f° 48vo.

7. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pauli II, Secret., an. VI, Lib. XII, Regest 535, f° 32vo, and Sixti IV. Bullar. Lib. XI, t. XVI, Regest. 561, f° 185.

8. Document 17.

We have noticed already that, on the 11th of October, 1470, pope Paul II exempted the cardinal personally, as bishop of Valencia, from all authority of his metropolitan, the archbishop of Tarragona.

The records of benefices granted by this Pontiff to the cardinal are, moreover, so numerous, that we considered it permissible to neglect taking note of several of them.

CHAPTER VII.

Cardinal de Borgia under Sixtus IV.

ARTICLE I. — THE CARDINAL AT THE ELECTION OF SIXTUS IV.

Pope Paul II died suddenly on the 26th of July, 1471, and the members of the Sacred College, eighteen in number, assembled, on the 6th of August, in the Vatican palace, for the election of his successor. Several cardinals received votes at the successive scrutinies, and, from a confused report it would seem that the ballots of the last voting were divided among seven of them. The greatest number, nine, was gathered by cardinal Francesco della Rovere, a distinguished Franciscan friar well known for his piety and the holy life which he had always led. There were still three votes needed, to make the two-thirds required for a papal election. Cardinal de Borgia had by this time become an influential member of the Sacred College and was not forgotten on the ballots of his colleagues. All contemporary information agrees that, with cardinals Orsini and Gonzaga, he became the successful leader in favor of Francesco della Rovere. The author of « Conclavi Diversi » [1] relates that among the cardinals of the greatest authority were Latinus Orsini, the vicechancellor of Holy Church and Francesco Gonzaga, who were the leaders of the election ; and, finally, the vicechancellor removed all objections made against Francesco della Rovere. Indeed, it was through Roderic's exertions that the way of « access » should be resorted to. He had given his vote to Roverella, cardinal of Ravenna, but seing that the other worthy man,

1. Biblioth. Vaticana Lat., Cod. 8407, Conclave di Papa Sixto 4°, p. 45.

della Rovere, was already preferred to his favorite, he opened the way, as he had done at the election of pope Pius II, for others to accede to the cardinal of St. Peter's Bands. D'Estouteville and Barbo followed him [2], and Francesco della Rovere was at once venerated by the whole Sacred College, under the name of pope Sixtus IV., on the 9th of August, 1471 [3]. On the 25th of the same month he solemnly received the triple crown from the hands of cardinal de Borgia, at that time dean of the cardinal-deacons [4].

It is no wonder if Pastor [5] refers his readers to a letter of Ammanati [6]; for this cardinal of Pavia asserts in it, that Roderic de Borgia had created pope Sixtus IV by his cunning and bribery, « artibus et corruptelis suis ». It would have been but common honesty on the part of the historian, when he saw fit to introduce to his readers this grave accusation, to make already here the remark which he makes later on [7], when reporting other false charges contained in the letter to which he refers, namely, that Ammanati can lay no claim to credibility. We shall speak of this matter more at length, when we shall discuss the behavior of legate de Borgia in Spain. But, to understand how trivial this accusation is, it behooves us to notice that cardinal de Borgia has sided with Francesco della Rovere only at the end of the conclave. The tone makes it evident that the whole of this epistle was written in an ugly mood, brought about by his defeat in his own candidacy, and no less by the victory of a competitor to whom he had steadily refused his vote [8]. His prophecies of the results of the election had also failed to become facts [9].

2. « Voce agiunte al papa oltra le prime nove : Vicecan., Rohanno, S. Marco.
3. Auctores passim ; Cfr. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 403-406 and Docum. 108-109.
4. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 411, ref. to Vatic. Archiv. Secret., Acta Consist. f° 43.
5. Ibid., s. 405, footn. 1.
6. Epistola 534, Francfort Edit.
7. Ibid., s. 418.
8. His letter 395.
9. His letter 417.

Another and more immediate cause of Ammanati's hostility was another disappointment, when cardinal de Borgia and four others were named papal legates, and he was left at home ; and when, soon after, he saw the Vicechancellor covered with praises on his return from Spain. It should, moreover, be remarked that Ammanati and de Borgia were not friends at the time. Even as late as July 27th, 1475, they were finding fault with each other ; de Borgia accusing the cardinal of Pavia of preferring his amusements in Siena to the writing of letters to him ; and the latter retorting that, not his pleasures, but the vicechancellor's neglect was the cause of his silence ; that Roderic cared only for those in high places, for kings and princes, not for his minor colleagues, that he attached more importance to one correspondence with the cardinal of Mantua or to a whole night's verbiage with his domestics, than to ten requests of services from his humble clients. Ammanati signed this letter as : « More devoted to Your Eminence than you thought before this time » [10].

The cardinal of Pavia had many great qualities, but his unsuccessful ambition caused him at times fits of resentment, in which he was apt to use inconsiderate words offending against charity or truth, that were more injurious to himself than to the victims of his pen. Thus he fell into disfavor with pope Paul II [11]. Thus he accused cardinal de Borgia, and broke off friendship with cardinal Bessarion, who wrote to him from Venice on the 7th of December, 1463 : « Let us from now on not neglect the duties of friendship. I have broken the ice, as the say, and let Your Eminence follow my example [12].

10. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii II, Pauli II. Literae Variae Card. Papien. et aliorum autographa, Armar. XXXIX, no. 10, old sign. 129, f° 133.

11. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 349.

12. Epistolae et Commentarii Jacobi Piccolomini, card. Papiensis, f° 20.

How excited he could become against a colleague appears from the letter in which he reviles most bitterly John, cardinal of Arras [13].

Ammanati noticed at last how injurious it was to his advancement and revenues, to be on bad terms with a man so influential with the Pope as was cardinal de Borgia. On the 15th of November, 1476, he wrote to him with great care a letter, which is, and cannot be but an urgent request of reconciliation, with the express object of mutual usefulness ; really, however, for the sole benefit of the cardinal of Pavia : " May God ", he says in part, " in his goodness, grant that we truly forget all that is past, and, new men again, observe what we write. If so, I promise that you, you shall not regret the friendship of the small man [14] and I, I shall be able to boast of the good will of so great a father. The benefits will be many. Those will not laugh any longer who now see their own advancement in the strife of others [15]. Our minds will be at rest, no longer bent on attack or defense. There shall be nothing so difficult to satisfy the wishes of either, that one could not easily hope and expect and actually obtain through the other. Let us join our love in the Lord and, to our mutual consolation, unite our hearts. You, who live in abundance of all else, you need the good will of your brethren to keep what you possess ; and to me, who am short of many things, your patronage, above all, is necessary to procure what is wanted [16]. "

After learning these particulars, a critical reader may more correctly estimate the value of Ammanati's imputation against

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13. Ibid., f° 33.

14. His full name was Ammanati Piccolomini.

15. Ammanati was aware of the fact others had obtained many a benefice, which he might have received himself, but for his enmity of the powerful cardinal de Borgia.

16. See the entire first draft of this letter, written and corrected by Ammanati's own hand. Document 71.

the integrity of cardinal de Borgia at the election of pope Sixtus IV. Nor was the ascetic Franciscan friar, Francesco della Rovere, a man to admit or reward the use of dubious means towards his elevation.

ARTICLE II. — CARDINAL DE BORGIA, ADMINISTRATOR ABBOT OF SUBIACO.

This Pontiff may not, however, have been insensible at the decisive action of the cardinal first acceding to him, and had other good reasons for accumulating benefits upon him, or rather, for confiding to him many responsible offices and dignities. In fact, it appears that no other Pope held Roderic de Borgia in higher esteem.

Pope Calixtus III had instituted the commendam of the united Benedictine abbeys of Subiaco and of Sacro Specu or Holy Cave, and given it to cardinal John Torquemada, on the 16th of January, 1456 [17]. After four years' vacancy, the administration of Subiaco was bestowed on cardinal Roderic de Borgia, by pope Sixtus IV, almost immediately, or a few days only after his election [18].

We can form an idea of the cardinal's activity and zeal in his capacity of a bishop from a number of particulars, which we have reported of his episcopate in Valencia ; and, to give an instance of the interest he took in the welfare of the monasteries confided to his care, we shall here notice some incidents of his administration of the abbey of Subiaco.

To be beneficial to his new subjects and secure their good will, cardinal de Borgia granted to the city of Subiaco the right of holding every week a free fair or public market. The people of the abbatial jurisdiction and of the adjoining ter-

17. Bullarium Sublacense Ms. Cherubini Mirzii, f° 299.

18. Panvinius, Vita Sixti IV ; Cherubin Mirzio, Cronaca Sublacensis, p. 516 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 410.

ritories could bring together all sorts of wares and merchandises on the square of Subiaco, and traffic among themselves ; thus procuring an abundance of all necessaries of life for the abbatial subjects, and a general reduction of the cost of living, through the direct transfer from producer to consumer. He issued his diploma to this effect a few months after his appointment, on the 13th of March, 1472 [19].

In the beginning of the year 1474, on the 27th of January [20] the cardinal commendator rendered another signal service to his abbey, by procuring to its members the recovery of the castle of Trevi in the diocese of Anagni. Trevi, with all its tenements and appurtenances, had, in former times, lawfully belonged to the suzerainty of the abbey ; but noblemen of the neighborhood had captured and held it for several years, till pope Paul II recovered it from them. Since then the town had been placed under the protection and immediate government of the Holy See. The learned jurist, cardinal de Borgia , looked up the claims of his wards and lay them before the Pontiff, who, in answer, stated that the castle of Trevi had belonged and, by right, belonged yet to the united monasteries of Subiaco ; and, to prevent all litigation, donated it anew to the abbey [21].

On the 4th of September of the same year, the commendator and his community entered into a solemn agreement with the castle or town of Pontia, by which the town was to pay to the monastery of Subiaco, on the feast of St. Michael in the month of September, a yearly tribute of... pound [22].

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19. Mirzio, Cronaca Subl., p. 516, from Liber Statutorum Castri Sublaci.

20. « Anno 1473 Sexto kalendas februarii pontificatus nostri anno tertio ». — Not in the year 1473, as Jannucelli : Memorie di Subiaco, p. 229 : and Mirzio say. The number of the year is here given as in many papal bulls, according to the Florentine style.

21' Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 680, f° 10 ; Ibid. Alex. VI. Bull. an. I, t. VI, Regest. 776, f° 129vo.

22. Mirzio, Cronaca Subl., p. 517.

A few days later, the prior and community of the abbey transferred upon their commendator abbot their rights and jurisdiction over the castle, or village of Marano. In so doing they probably wished to give him a token of gratitude for the increases of their income lately procured to them by the cardinal. Yet the considerations expressed in the document are of a different nature. The monks, it is said, were much disturbed in their religious exercices by the wordly affairs of this fief, and their superiors detained by the visits of its lay people. They renounced to their suzerain rights and jurisdiction, but reserved for themselves the usual amount of their yearly income from that place. Pope Sixtus IV allowed and confirmed this alienation by a bull of the 28th of September, 1474, in which he stated that the transaction would be for the benefit of the pious friars [23].

Mirzio finds here an occasion to accuse of deceit cardinal de Borgia, for inducing the monks to make him this grant, by promising to them rich compensation, should he become a Pope. But, where is the intelligent cardinal to utter such expectations, or the monastic chapter so foolish as to trade away valuable possessions for such unreliable expectations. He quotes no authority for that assertion, neither does he give any for the next ; that, namely, the cardinal was to pay the monastery's former revenue with one hundred small bushels of grain, but promised to give better measure later on ; a thing which Mirzio never found him to have done ! The author of the Cronaca also blames his predecessors for their supposed imprudence in making this bargain, and is sharp with the Pope himself, for saying that their concession was for the eventual good of the friars and the peace of their souls. Was not Mirzio in bad humor when he wrote this,

23. Archives of the St. Scholastica monastery near Subiaco ; Jannucelli, Memorie di Subiaco, p. 230 ; Mirzio, Cronaca Subl., p. 519.

or did he impair his work through common prejudice against pope Alexander VI ?

From the beginning of his administration, cardinal de Borgia had experienced much difficulty in preventing the dissensions and in punishing the crimes that were taking place in the town of Geram, or Gerano, as a consequence of the fact, that the seigniory and jurisdiction of this locality were equally divided between the bishop of Tivoli and the abbey of Subiaco. To remedy those evils and foster the interests of his wards, the cardinal managed a friedly understanding with the lord bishop, who conceded the one half dominion belonging to him, on the condition of a fair compensation. Pope Sixtus IV issued a bull on the 6th of October, 1474, to ratify the agreement, and order indemnification to be made to Tivoli [24].

The conduct of the Subiaco monks was exemplary, and their relations with the commendator abbot were of the friendliest nature. This led cardinal de Borgia to give in their behalf another proof of his extraordinary liberality. A fortress had been built in Subiaco towards the end of the eleventh century, but had become a useless pile of ruins in the fifteenth, when almost every Italian noblemam was a glorious warrior and plunderer. Roderic de Borgia, then bishop of Porto, rebuilt, enlarged and equiped the stronghold, at his private expense, in the year 1476 [25]. At the right side of the main entrance, we found, built into the wall, a memorial stone on which we read, under the Borgia escutcheon, the following inscription [26] : " Roderic de Borgia, bishop of Porto, Cardinal of Valencia, Vicechancellor of the Holy Roman Church, nephew of the Supreme Pontiff, Calixtus III, has, for the

24. Archiv. Secret Vatic., Sixti IV. Bull., an. I, II, III, IV, t. IV, Regest. 663, fo 525vo.

25. Mirzio, Cronaca Subl., p. 519. See Document 72.

26. See Document 733.

Fortress of Subiaco,
Built by cardinal Roderic de Borgia
in the year 1476.

security of the monks, of the townspeople and of the whole district of Subiaco, and for the protection of the nearest confines of the Roman Church territory, erected from the ground and dedicated to St. Benedict this fortress, when the old one was falling in ruins ; after tearing away rocks on all sides and removing the debris ; and he has surrounded it with bulwarks of triple walls and provided it with more cisterns and with cannon ; and has also added to it a watch-tower, named the Borgian tower, after the cognomen of his house, at an immense cost, worthy of the greatness of his soul, in the year of Salvation MCCCCLXXVI, under the reign of the Supreme Pontiff Sixtus IV. " We learn from a bull of pope Alexander VI that the fortress had cost him more than nine thousand ducats ; and he states, in the same document, that he had not refused to pay large sums for the recovery by the abbey of property detained by others [27].

The commendator of Subiaco rendered another good service to his abbey, the following year. The community of Benedictine sisters residing in the small convent of the Holy Angels, outside the walls of Trevi, was dying out. But one nun, the abbess Laetitia was left alive. Seeing the end come, she placed her convent at the disposal of the Sovereign Pontiff. When hearing of this, cardinal de Borgia insisted with His Holiness, that Holy Angel's and its revenues, which amounted to twenty-four gold ducats, might be united to the income of the impoverished Subiaco monastery ; and Pope Sixtus IV. granted his request on the 22d of October, 1477. By a brief of the same date, he assigned to Laetitia a life pension of the twenty-four ducats, payable by the abbey in two semi-annual terms, and the continued use of her convent for habitation [28].

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27. See Document 72.

28. Mirzio, Cronoca Subl., p. 520 ; Originals at the St. Scholastica monastery of Subiaco, Arca II no. 69, 70.

On the 20th of December 1479, pope Sixtus IV united with the abbey of Subiaco the one of Farfa or Fara, at the instance of cardinal Cosmas Orsini, the latter's commendator [29] ; but the climate of Farfa proved to be very injurious to the health of the Subiaco friars, who were occasionally transferred to its abbey, and they appealed to their protecting abbot, cardinal de Borgia, who prevailed upon the Pontiff, on the 17th of May, 1482, to disunite the two monasteries and restore them to their previous condition. To compensate the Subiaco community for their losses, he assigned to them two houses in Rome owned by the Farfa monastery [30]. The next Pope, Innocent VIII, on the 19th of March, 1487, united again the two abbeys, perhaps to promote religious perfection in Farfa [31].

As the monastery of Subiaco had several properties that were bringing no revenue nor other benefit, its commendator, de Borgia, applied to the Pontiff for permission to rent or sell them. Pope Sixtus IV, at his request, granted to tye abbey, on the 20th of January, 1484, the right of selling to the amount of three thousand ducats [32].

Cardinal de Borgia had discovered several apostolic letters and imperial diplomas, by which the towns of Anticoli and Ciciliano had in former years been awarded to the monasteries of Subiaco and of Sacro Specu ; but these localities had passed under the seigniory of the Colonna during the reign of pope Martin V, who was a member of that house. As these Roman barons stood up in open rebellion against their suzerain, pope Sixtus IV, towards the end of his reign ; their armed disloyalty caused the Pope to restore both towns to

29. A copy of the bull in the archives of St. Scholastica, Arca V, no. 25.

30. Archives of St. Scholastica, Subiaco, Original bull, Arca II, no. 72 ; Mirzio, Cronaca Subl. p. 523.

31. Not 1486 : XIV, cal. Apr. Pont. nr. an. 3°. An authenticated copy, Ibid., V, no. 25, 23.

32. Mirzio, Cronaca Subl. p. 523, and his Bullar. Subl. f° 219vo.

their ancient owners, the community of Subiaco. He ordered, on the 8th of July, 1484, the cardinal administrator to take possession of them, and of their jurisdiction, revenues and rights ; freeing their inhabitants from their oath of vassalage to any of the Colonna family, and commanding them to submit to the abbot and help him in the recovery of the places [33].

This grant was not, however, a quiet, pacific donation ; for, only two days later, on the 10th of the month, the Pope sent orders to commendator de Borgia to prosecute the war against the Colonna, and command all his vassals to deliver, to the papal army in the field, victuals and all else that might be needed or useful [34].

From the foregoing particulars we can readily conclude, that cardinal Roderic de Borgia was, not only a careful and liberal administrator of the temporalities of the Subiaco religious community, but was also watching every opportunity to increase and improve their means of support. Neither was he indifferent to their religious interests.

He had on various occasions taken note of the special privileges which the friars of Subiaco piously wished to obtain from the Supreme Pontiff, and gathered them into a common supplication, which he lay before pope Innocent VIII, recommending to him the dear friars as well deserving of spiritual favors. The Pontiff acceded to the cardinal's requests by a kind letter of the 31st of October, 1486.

The commendatory or the regular abbot should henceforth have the faculty of allowing the members of their community, provided they were fit subjects, to be promoted even to sacred orders by any bishop in communion with the Supreme Pontiff,

33. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 654, f° 13.

34. Ibid., f° 16.

at the times set by canon law, and to authorize the prelate to perform the Ordination.

He could permit all the monks to again chant or recite the divine office according to the rules of their Order, in their churches ; and not to be bound any longer by the special regulations of their first commendatory abbot, for the recitation of the breviary.

He could further authorize the prior of the monastery, or one appointed by him, to absolve from all excommunication, suspension or interdict, or any other censure, all resident monks, or members of any other community of the same Order who happened to be on a visit there ; and to give absolution, as often as necessary, in all cases reserved even to the Pope. To the abbot himself was given the faculty of dispensing from all irregularity or infamy subject to open court, in consequence of sin.

Finally, the Pontiff granted to all the Subiaco monks, whether oblates, novices or professed, the privilege of gaining through certain prayers in their own churches, the indulgences attached by the Sovereign Pontiffs to the performance of the Sunday Stations in Rome and the visits to the basilicas of St. Peter and of St. John of Lateran [35].

We notice that cardinal de Borgia continued his kindly relations with the monastery, even after his elevation to St. Peter's chair.

On the 20th of November, 1492, he granted to its priors the right of blessing sacred vestments, and to its members permission to be ordained not only by any Catholic bishop, but also at any time [36].

After a few years, on the 10th of February, 1495, he be stowed more spiritual favors on the abbey of Subiaco and the

35. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 685, fo 280vo.

36. Bullarium Cassinense, t. I, p. 101 ; Mirzio, Cronaca Subl. p. 525.

monastery of Farfa, united with it. He allowed their subjects to be elevated to the priesthood at the age of twenty-three years, and permitted Holy Masses to be celebrated in their churches before daylight [37].

Pope Alexander VI was, even in the pressure of his apostolic labors, still preoccupied with the temporal welfare of his former abbey.

He had, as we saw before, and as he here [38] explicitly states, recovered, « recuperaveramus », the castle of Trevi, in behalf of the Subiaco monastery ; but the Roman noblemen, Anthony and Cola de Gaetani, afterwards set forth some certain rights on that place, and pressed their claims as soon as the new commendator, cardinal John Colonna, had been appointed. As justice was binding also on a Pope, Alexander VI, to avoid the difficulties of a tedious lawsuit, came to an amicable settlement with the Gaetani. These gentlemen solemnly renounced to all their pretentions, and the Pontiff mortgaged, on the 20th of September, 1492, the castle of Trevi to them, for a perpetual yearly pension of eighty ducats, payable by the abbey of Subiaco.

At the request of the priors of the united monasteries, the Pontiff renewed, on November the 20th of the same year, the privileges granted already by pope Eugene IV, allowing the members of their communities, their servants and employees, to import to the monasteries, free of tolls and taxes, wheat, wine and oil and all other movable goods and animals needed for food or clothing of their inmates, or fodder for their animals [39].

According to the archives of the St. Scholastica monastery near Subiaco, pope Alexander VI bestowed yet another

37. Bullar. Cassinen., t. I, p. 102.

38. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Secret., an. I ad XI Lib. V, t. 100, Regest. 871, f° 351.

39. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. I, t. III, Regest. 774, f° 314 ; Bullar. Cassin., t. I, p. 101.

favor upon his former wards, on July 13th, 1499, when he directed the bishop of Zamora to authorize their priors to lease for a term of twenty-five years their grange of Turriano, in the province of Calabria [40].

Finally, if we can rely on a Vatican record that is not in perfect shape, the same Pontiff confiscated, in the year 1500, from the families Colonna and Gaetani because of their renewed rebellion, several castles which they had retained in spite of pope Sixtus IV, and he donated them to the abbey, namely, the towns of Felectino, Vallispetra, Anticoli Corrado, Roviano, Vallinfreda and Riofreddo and, to place the monastery with its new acquisitions under the protection of a powerful lord, he gave to the duke of Romagna, Cesar de Borgia, the right of presentation to its abbatial chair [41].

Some modern historian misrepresents this favor as an appanage or endowment of the abbey for the benefit of the Borgia family. His authority is a report of Burchard, who says [42] : « SS. D. noster constituit gentem Borgiam Patronam abbatie Sublacensis, et decrevit jus patronatus et presentandi ad eosdem Borgia perpetuis futuris temporibus spectare et pertinere, si vera michi sunt relata ». From which it appears that the late error is an exaggeration and a misinterpretation, that the pretended donation is made to no certain recipient, but to all possible members of the numberless Borgia clan ; and, last but not least, that Burchard himself did not believe what was told him.

ARTICLE III. — RODERIC DE BORGIA, CARDINAL-BISHOP OF ALBANO, ORDAINED AND CONSECRATED

A few days after his appointment as commendatory abbot of Subiaco, cardinal de Borgia was named bishop of Albano.

40. Bullar. Subl. Ms. by Mirzio, f° 268.

41. Rome, Bibl. Barberin, Cod. XXXII 242. See Document 72.

42. Diar., t. III, p. 167.

Many mistakes have been made in regard to the date of this nomination. We should not, of course, pay any attention to the statement, that already pope Calixtus III bestowed upon his nephew, Roderic, the two dioceses of Albano and of Porto. We find this ridiculous assertion only in the vile manuscript pamphlet which originated the slanders against the morality of pope Alexander VI. But several, even prominent, historians have been led into error, such as Gams, who [43] gives the date of August 30th, 1468, and is followed herein by Ul. Chevalier [44]; Fidel Fita, who writes [45] that Don Roderic commenced to be cardinal-bishop of Albano on the 30th of July, 1468; and Henry Bresslau [46], mentioning the year 1468. Clement de Vebron [47] counterbalances the anticipations of the former authors by his own procrastination, when citing the year 1476. Moroni correctly assigns [48] the promotion of Roderic de Borgia to be cardinal-bishop of Albano to the year 1471, and Pastor [49] reports the full date.

With the advice of the Sacred College, pope Sixtus IV confided to him the diocese of Albano, in consideration of his great merits and of his most excellent virtues, on the 30th of August, 1471 [50].

By a bull of the same date, the Pope dispensed him not only to remain the Ordinary of the diocese of Valencia, but also to retain the diaconal church of St. Nicholas in the Tullian prison, and all his dignities, benefices, administrations and offices of any kind, which he had enjoyed before or might receive in the future, and to continue to dispose of their revenues according to his good pleasure [51].

It is a question at what time Roderic de Borgia was or-

43. Series Episcoporum, p. XXIII.
44. Répertoire, p. 76.
45. Estud. Histor., t. VI, p. 97.
46. Urkundenlehre, Bd. I, s. 211.
47. Les Borgia, p. 133.
48. Dizion. Vol. I, p. 236.
49. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd II, s. 410, footn. 2.
50. See Document 74.
51. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 551, f° 30.

dained a priest and when consecrated a bishop. We know that he was not a priest when named bishop of Valencia, as in the bull of that appointment mention is made of the deficiency of holy orders, required for his future consecration [52]. Nor is it likely that he received any of the major orders for many more years, because the duty of the divine office and priestly functions were considered as hindrances to constant business. He was not consecrated a bishop before he was named for the diocese of Albano, since the Pope still then addressed him as « Beloved Son » and, in the synchronous document that confirmed him in his former benefices, he again called him « beoved son » and « bishop-elect » of Albano, cleared him from the legal objections that had arisen against his right to those benefices from the fact that, as a bishop of Valencia, he had not been consecrated within the time required by general canon law ; and also safeguarded him against any similar effect of the default of consecration, which he was now bound to receive as cardinal-bishop, « munus consecrationis tibi ratione ecclesie Albanensis impendendum [53] ».

We did not find on what precise day cardinal de Borgia received the episcopal consecration, but this must have been only a few days after his promotion, because we notice that pope Sixtus IV did not call him « beloved son » any more, but « Venerable Brother », on the 31st of October, 1471, when confirming certain indulgences in favor of the cathedral of Valencia [54], and ever since when mentioning him.

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52. See Document 66. ad finem.

53. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 551, f° 30. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 193, footn. 4, quotes from Regest. 493, f° 9 of the papal Secret Archives the expression : « Pius II dil. fil. Vicariis Ven. frat. nostri episcop. Valentin », as used already in the year 1463, but this must be a mistake of some copyist, if not written to distinguish between the bishop-elect and his vicars general.

54. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV, Bull., Div. an. 1, 2, 3, t. I, Regest. 660, f° 7vo.

ARTICLE IV. — CARDINAL DE BORGIA APPOINTED LEGATE TO SPAIN.

Pope Sixtus IV placed great confidence in the talents and activity of cardinal de Borgia, and laid out some important and hard, though not unwelcome, labor for him, at the very beginning of his pontificate, namely, a legation to the different kingdoms of Spain.

The worthless pamphlet [55], the foundation of slander against pope AlexanderVI, reports this legation to Spain and another, an imaginary mission, to Portugal, as confided to cardinal de Borgia, by his uncle, Calixtus III, who, by this time, was dead for fourteen years ; but most historians prudently pass by in silence this portion of the anonymous lampoon. Pastor [56] copies a record from the Consistorial Acts [57], where it is stated that, on Monday, the 23d of December, 1471, the Holy Father held a secret consistory and created therein five legates " a latere ", to go to all provinces and kingdoms of the Christian world, and request kings, princes and all Christians for the defense of the Catholic Faith against the unspeakable Turk, the enemy of the name of Jesus ; or, as Gregorovius travesties the holy and humanitarian purpose, to collect money for indulgences and make tithes flow against the Mohammedans.

According to the Consistorial Acts, the Rev. Lord of Nicaea, cadinal Bessarion, was to be sent to the king of France, the duke of Burgundy and the king of England ; the Rev. Lord vicechancellor, cardinal Roderic de Borgia, to the king of Spain, and others ; the Rev. Lord of the Holy Cross, cardinal Capranica, to the princes and lords of Italy ; the Rev. Lord of St. Mark, cardinal Barbo, to the emperor, the king of

55. In particular, the copy in Bibl. Vittor. Eman., Roma, Ms. Jesuitici, no. 1558.

56. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 416, footn. 2.

57. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., f° 44.

Hungary, and others ; the Rev. Lord of Naples, cardinal Caraffa, to king Ferdinand, and across the seas.

Panvinio remarks [58] that the Pontiff named all these legates with the consent of the Sacred Consistory, and de l'Epinois says [59], in particular, that cardinal de Borgia was named on the advice of his colleagues.

The next following months were utilized to prepare the details of the work to be done on the legations, the official papers and the funds required for their execution.

It was sufficiently known that the salary allowed by the papal treasury would not cover the expenses of cardinal de Borgia's suite. The Pontiff commenced by providing him with an opportunity of increasing his revenues in the near future. On the 1st day of January, 1472, he reserved for him a number of benefices in different dioceses of Spain, to the amount of an aggregate revenue of one thousand pound small tournois [60]. On the 19th of July, 1473, he actually conferred upon him two of them, that is, a canonry in the cathedral of Burgos and the archdeanery of Valpuesta in the same church, worth together six hundred pound [61] and confirmed the other expectatives, as late as the 7th of November, 1479 [62].

To procure funds with which to defray the mission of cardinal de Borgia, pope Sixtus IV allowed him, on the 17th of January, 1472, to lease to the highest bidders, for a term of three years, the revenues of all his benefices and dignities for one or more globular sums payable in advance, securing the farmers in their rights by stipulating that, should the cardinal, by death or otherwise, lose his right to any of his incomes, his successor could not claim them before the

58. Vita Xysti IV.
59. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 385.
60. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV, Expectativ., Regest. 681, f° 11.
61. Ibid. Sixti IV, Bullar., lib. VII, t. XII. Regest. 557, f° 276vo.
62. Ibid. Sixti IV. Bull., lib. XLIV, t. XLIX, Regest. 594, f° 39vo.

expiration of the lease [63]. A few days after, on March the 6th, the Pope similarly authorized him to rent out, for two years, the fees of his vicechancellery [64]. On the 12th of February, he had paid him a portion of his salary, as legate to Spain, namely, the sum of two thousand and eighty florins [65]. By these means he procured to the Legate quite a large sum of money available for immediate use. Besides this, he further allowed him, on the 6th of March, 1472, to accept for himself or others of his choice any benefices that his friends were willing to resign in his favor [66].

Before going on his long and perilous mission, cardinal de Borgia attended also to private business, more important than the gathering of resources for the time of his travels. On the 17th of January, 1472, he obtained the Pontiff's permission to make a last will [67]. According to law and custom of the time, the cardinals had full control of their revenues and could dispose of them at will during their life ; but, at their demise, all their estate, real and personal, their « spolia », was to go to the reigning supreme Pontiff. An exception was here made in favor of the Legate to Spain, who availed himself of the faculty, and added to his testament a codicil for the benefit of his nephew, Jofre Lanzol or de Borgia. This favor of pope Sixtus IV was confirmed by him on the 27th of January, 1480, and renewed on the 22d of September, 1484, by a bull of his successor, Innocent VIII, who prefaced his decree by an unusual introduction, stating that cardinal de Borgia, more than all others, assisted the Supreme Pontiff in governing the Universal Church, and excelled all others by his activity and extraordinary virtue [68].

63. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Bullar., lib. II, t. VII, Regest. 552, f° 95.

64. Ibid. Regest. 553, f° 1.

65. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Sixti IV, lib. Bullet. 1471-1473, ad 12 Febr. 1472, ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 418, footn. 1.

66. Ibid. Regest. 553, f° 2 or 3.

67. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV, Bullar., lib. II, t. VII, Regest. 552, f° 94.

68. Ibid. Regest. 682, f° 1.

On the 6th of March, 1472, he provided for the regular conduct of his office of vicechancellor during his sojourn in Spain, by obtaining from the Pontiff the right of appointing whenever he should have to absent himself from the court, a vicar general or deputy, who should allow, in his name, the issuance of papal bulls [69].

To further secure his home against all possible contestations during his absence, cardinal de Borgia requested and, on the 25th of March, 1472, received another papal confirmation of its ownership, and renewed authority to do with it as he migt see fit [70].

The last financial measure, preparatory to the cardinal's departure for Spain, was taken on the 18th of April, 1472. The Pontiff, considering it just and becoming that the clergy of his diocese of Valencia should take a small share in the extraordinary expenses, which their bishop was to make among them, ordered all the beneficiaries of his jurisdiction to contribute for him to a « charitativum » or unusual oblation, at the rate of three sols on every pound, Valencian money, of their church revenues ; and he charged three dignitaries of that diocese with the execution of his decree [71].

We could not find the bull by which Roderic de Borgia was officially appointed a Legate to Spain. The seventy first folios of the Vatican regestum 680, that probably contained it, are missing in the original pagination, which has been replaced by another, apparently later, hand [72].

In another document [73], the Pontiff states that cardinal de Borgia had been named on the advice of the members of the Sacred College, and should have great and difficult tasks

69. Ibid., Regest. 553, fo 1vo.
70. Ibid., Regest. 553, fo 104.
71. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 680, fo 2.
72. This Codex is also out of order by being marked as " Sixti IV, Bull. Div., an. I ad XIII, t II ", while it actually is : " Sixti IV. Legationes. ".
73. Ibid., Regest, 680, fo 3.

to perform. The principal object of his mission was to procure to the Sovereign Pontiff men and means, in his efforts to repress the incursions of the fierce and cruel Turks ; and, to this end he was to labor for the pacification of the Spanish kingdoms engaged in civil wars, to impose tithes on the clergy, to publish indulgences and make regulations for free contributions of the laity [74].

Besides these, several minor duties were successively imposed upon him :

A certain request had been laid before pope Sixtus IV, who, after considering it, sent it, on the 18th of January, 1472, to the legate of Spain, together with his own decision, and ordered him to execute it, after calling those who had a right to be present and in accordance with his directions [75].

Cardinal de Borgia had also been charged with the recovery of all church property unduly alienated or lost in the diocese of Valencia ; and, on the 6th of the following month of March, the Pope ordered the dignitaries of that diocese to give all passible assistance to the legate in this particular [76].

Peter de Luna, admitted as pope Benedict XIII in the kingdom of Aragon, had mortgaged the revenues of a number of church properties, but popes Nicholas V and Calixtus III had afterwards tried to redeem them, with the proceeds of a tax imposed on all churches and benefices of that kingdom. In this they had partly succeeded, but some benefices remained incumbered still, while a portion of the taxes had never been paid. Now, pope Sixtus IV, on the 21st of March, 1472, charged the Legate with the collection of these arrears, and the complete liberation of the burdened church properties. He was to compel the creditors to give an account of the

74. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Bull. Div. an. I, II, III, IV, t. IV, Regest. 663, f° 489 ; Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Eman. Ms. Jesuitici, no. 275, f° 174.

75. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Brevia, an. 1471. Armar. 39, no. 14, f° 111vo.

76. Ibid., Regest. 680, f° 5vo.

revenues collected and to make restitution of what they had received in excess of their rights. He was also empowered to grant, for a term of twenty years, the rights of patronage of the benefices, which any one, cleric or lay, was willing to clear of their obligations [77].

Three days later, cardinal de Borgia received another special commission, namely, to settle a difficulty in regard to a Spanish priory, about which Peter de Stuniga had presented a petition to the Pope [78].

Still another, an important and delicate duty was laid upon him, on the 6th of April, 1472. To restore peace among the two principal branches of the Franciscan Order : the Conventuals and the Observantines, popes Pius II and Paul II had forbidden the latter from invading and retaining, under the pretext of correction, the monasteries of the less severe friars. In spite of these decrees, the Observantines had ejected the Conventuals from their monastery of St. Francis, at the town of Murcia in the diocese of Carthagena. Cardinal de Borgia received orders to restore to the guardian, Peter de Audilla, and to his friars their monastery and all its former possessions, to reform, according to his own views, the community, in its head and members ; to correct those who need correction and expel others deserving of expulsion. Should he, however, find among the Observantine occupants any to be worthy of remaining and willing to obey the General Minister of the Franciscan Order, the Legate was allowed to retain them in the conventual monastery [79].

A few days before his departure for Spain, on May the 6th, 1472, cardinal de Borgia received one more incidental charge. Pope Sixtus IV, not sufficiently informed, had failed

77. Ibid., Regest. 552, f° 288.
78. Ibid., Sixti IV. Bull. Div., an. I, II, III, t. I. Regest. 660, f° 263.
79. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Brevia, an. 1471, Armar. 39, no. 14, f° 162.

to confirm in a benefice, worth four hundred gold florins, a well-deserving knight of Jerusalem, Michael Rana, appointed by the Grand Master of Rhodes. On better information, though too late, the Pontiff ordered his legate to repair the mistake, by granting to the knight's brother, Denis, the benefices first becoming vacant in his jurisdiction, up to the same amount of revenues [80].

Cardinal de Borgia was already in Spain, when he was further ordered to transact another special matter of business, in which his vast knowledge of canon law was to guide him. Lewis de la Cerda, count of Medinaceli, had married twice : first, with Catherine Lassa de Mendoça, and, a second time, with Anna de Aragonia. The validity of both these marriages was doubted, because of an obreptitious request of dispensation to celebrate the former. Pope Sixtus IV commissioned, on the 14th of July, 1472, the cardinal legate to call witnesses, inquire into all the particulars and definitely to decide on the case [81].

Finally, on the 21st of the following month, orders were issued for cardinal de Borgia, to reform the Dominican monastery of Lisbon [82].

Such were the objects of his mission and the numerous duties he had to perform during his legation in the Spanish peninsula. He was correspondingly provided with all the authority and faculties necessary to the fulfilment of his trust; and with many privileges, the use of which was to secure him the good will of persons whose help he would need towards the success of his labors.

The cardinal's contemporary, Jacob of Volterra, wrote of

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80. Ibid., Sixti IV. Brevia, t. 7. Armar. 39, no. 7, f° 244vo.
81. Ibid., Sixti IV. Bull. Div., an. I, II, III, t. I, Regest. 660. f° 125.
82. Ibid., f° 468.

him [83], and Raynaldi copied [84] that, during the first year of the reign of pope Sixtus IV, he was sent to Spain with powers not only of a Pope's legate " a latere " but almost of a Pope himself.

Already on the 24th of February, 1472, the Pontiff allowed his legate to promise to Henry, king of Castile and Leon, that, in answer to his repeated requests, Peter de Mendoza, bishop of Siguenza, will be named at the next creation of cardinals ; and even empowered him to carefully choose and propose for cardinalitial honors a second prelate born in those kingdoms, if he should consider it conducive to an earlier pacification of Spain, and to be in the interests of the Church [85].

He was equally authorized, a few days later, on March the 10th, to announce to Alfonso, king of Portugal, that his wishes would be gratified at the first promotion of cardinals, by the nomination of the archbishop of Lisbon [86].

The cardinal legate received quite a number of privileges or special faculties, on the 21st of the same month of March, 1472 :

The members of his household were, as a favor to himself, allowed to enjoy all the same advantages and rights, as when present at the Roman court [87].

The cardinal received the power of dispensing, when he would find proper to do so, within his jurisdiction and the time of his mission, any cleric or lay person, from all censures incurred, during those warlike years, by being present at, or by advising or abetting, any murder or mutilation, on the

83. Diarii della Corte di Roma, Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Cod. Ms. 987, f° 71.

84. Annal. Eccles. al an. 1492, no. XXVII.

85. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Bull. Div., an. I, II, III, t. I, Regest. 660, f° 17.

86. Ibid., f° 16vo.

87. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Bull., Div., an. I ad XIII, t. II, Regest. 680, f° 1.

battlefield or elsewhere ; provided, however, that sacramental absolution should first be imparted, and the crime should not have been actually committed by the penitent [88].

He was further entitled to dispense from the law forbidding the possession of two incompatible benefices [89].

He could grant one or two benefices, even to religious of a non-mendicant Order [90].

He obtained the right to absolve from ecclesiastical censures all those upon whom he would confer a benefice [91].

He could also create notaries, and give licenses of public scribes to any persons of good conduct and reputation, whom he should examine and find fit for the office [92].

He received the papal right of reserving for clerics of his choice " alternatives ", that is, benefices becoming vacant in such an alternate month as gave to the Roman Curia the privilege of appointing the next incumbent. In case of such a timely vacancy, he might also give possession [93].

Finally, by a bull of that same 21st of March, 1472, he was empowered to bestow forty dignities, namely, to appoint ten apostolic notaries, ten pontifical subdeacons, ten acolytes and an equal number of papal chaplains, with all rights, charges and preeminences, as if they should have been named by the Pope himself [94].

All those duties imposed on cardinal de Borgia and the corresponding authority and privileges evidently prove what confidence the Pontiff placed in him. They are, moreover, a great help to mentally fill up the gaps left in the report of his activities during his mission.

When all was prepared and provided for the legation, pope Sixtus IV, anxious for the cardinal to commence his impor-

88. Ibid., f° 3.
89. Ibid., f° 4.
90. Ibid., f° 5.
91. Ibid., f° 6vo.
92. Ibid., f° 7.
93. Ibid., f° 9.
94. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Bullar., lib. XV, t. XXIII, Regest. 565, f° 157.

tant work, wrote to king Ferdinand of Naples, on the 22d of April, 1472 : Most beloved son : We ardently desire that our Venerable brother, the bishop of Albano, whom we have designated as our legate to Spain, may hasten his departure, and we have learned from him that your Majesty has already sent out the triremes fitted out for his transportation. We, therefore, urgently request your Serenity so to accelerate their voyage that they may drop anchor in Rome by next Sunday, and that next Monday, at the conclusion of the Consistory, the Legate, accompanied, as usual, by the other cardinals, may set out on his way ; or let the galleys be here at latest on Monday or Tuesday, so that he certainly depart on Wednesday. It would, however, please us much more and be much more useful to what is to be done, if he could start on Monday [95].

The Pontiff did not have his wish. His legate was obliged to tarry two more weeks in the City. On the 15th of May, 1472, he, at last, left Rome and went to Ostia, where he was to set sail for the territories of his legation [96].

Cardinal de Borgia remained, during the time of his mission, in constant correspondance with the Sovereign Pontiff. Already before leaving Ostia he wrote to him ; and we cannot refrain from reporting the answer, which is a tangible proof of the high consideration in which, both he and his counsels, were held by pope Sixtus IV. It was issued on the 21st of June, 1472, and is as follows : To the Vicechancellor legate : " Venerable brother, Health etc. We had lately resolved to name a bishop for the diocese of Cadix. Remembering the letter which Your Eminence wrote to Us from the port of Ostia, We have transferred

95. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. 39, no. 1, Sixti IV. Brevia, t. I, fo 230vo.

96. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 418 and footn. 1, referring to Act. Consist. of the papal Secret. Archiv. ; de l'Epinois, Rev. des Quest. Hist. Vol. 29 p. 385.

to Cadix our venerable brother, Peter, bishop of Tuy, and to Tuy We have promoted our beloved son, the abbot de Soprado, as you advised Us to do. And in order that Francis de Toledo, whom you had also recommended to Us, should not seem to be neglected or despised, while he is a worthy man in every respect, We have given to him the commendam thus become vacant ; all the more readily, because the king's envoy requested the abbey for a person of unsuitable age. We wished Your Eminence to know these facts " [97].

Of the same significance in regard to cardinal de Borgia is this other brief of pope Sixtus IV, written to him on the 5th of the following month of July : " Our Venerable brother, Health, etc. Trusting in the Lord that our beloved son, Alfonso de Bolano, a friar of the Order of Minors, will continue to do much good, as he has done till this day, for the propagation of the Christian faith in the Canaries and other African islands, We have granted him certain faculties, which We have thought well that Your Eminence should inspect, because they are ample and great and not lightly to be conceded Our intention is that Your Eminence should read and maturely consider them, and allow Alfonso to make use of them in as far as it may seem advisable to you. We, therefore, send by him the papers of said faculties for your inspection and consideration. He has taken an oath at the hands of our Venerable brother, the bishop of Tarragona, to faithfully hand those papers to you [98]. "

ARTICLE V. — LEGATE DE BORGIA IN SPAIN.

We do not know on what day cardinal de Borgia sailed away from Ostia, but, about the end of the month of May,

97. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. 39, no. 14. Sixti IV, Brevia an. 1471, fo 299vo.

98. Ibid., fo 313.

he wrote that he had safely arrived with the triremes at the port of Bonifacio in the island of Corsica [99].

Ximeno relates [100] that he landed in Valencia on the 18th of June of that year, and was received with great rejoicing and magnificence, as, he says, I have seen it in the Memoirs of that time left in manuscript by Mossen Pedro Marti, subsacristan of the cathedral. Ferreras [101] closely agrees with Ximeno, when he relates that the cardinal disembarked on the 20th of June ; and he adds that he was accompanied by several Roman prelates and received with great demonstrations of joy.

Knowing only that cardinal de Borgia left Rome on the 15th of May, but ignorant of the date on which he boarded his vessel in Ostia or sailed from Bonifacio, Pastor [102] finds fault with Clément de Vebron, without setting him right, for saying [103] that Roderic landed in Valencia on one of the last days of June ; while, in fact, he did so on the 18th of that month. But Clément commits a more serious mistake, when giving a fine description of the Legate's reception in his episcopal city. Most of his details are incorrect and the others are based on mere imagination [104].

There is a historic, even official, report of his entry in Valencia. Villanueva [105] prints a letter of James Rossell, an attorney of Valencia to the City council of Xativa, in which he gives, as requested, an account of the Legate's entry in the former city, in order to instruct them on the ceremonial to be observed on his reception by his native city. The letter is :

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99. Card. Papien. Epist. et Comment. f° 232. The cardinal's letter was written in Rome and dated June 8th, 1472.

100. Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, edit. Madrid 1747, t. I, p. 67.

101. Hist. de España, vol. 10, p. 289, referring to Palencia and Çurita.

102. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s 418, footn. 1.

103. Les Borgia, p. 118.

104. Id., Ibid.

105. Viage Literario, t. IV, Append. de Docum., p. 306.

" To the Very Magnificent wise lords, the councilmen of the city of Xativa. Very magnificent and very wise lords : The other day I received a letter from you, asking me to inform you of the festivities with which the most reverend cardinal legate entered into this city. I answer to it..... What has been done here at his reception is, that all royal officials and those of the city, accompanied by many notable personages, all the nobility, knights, gentlemen and others, all of them on horseback, went out to meet him as far as the White Inns : which was doing as much as is done at the first entry of our king and lord. At the junction of the road to Murviedro, all the councilmen, the governor general and other prominent noblemen and gentlemen, to the number of twelve, waited for him with a magnificent canopy, under which the cardinal entered, mounted his steed ; and the porters of the shelter were all on foot ; and when they arrived at the city walls, whose gates were overhung with crimson draperies, he entered the city, at the various sounds of trumpets and kettledrums. Inside the portals he met the very solemn general procession of the churches, a canopy being carried by chaplains, and the (auxiliary) bishop, " bisbe ", bore a " pax " representing the countenance of the Virgin Mary, and all were singing the " Te Deum laudamus ". Thus they went on with the procession, and the Most Reverend cardinal rode under the canopy of the officials. They made a great detour through the whole city, up to the cathedral ; and, after making his prayer, he retired from there to his episcopal residence. Along all the streets where he passed, the windows and doorframes were draped with crimson cloth and tapestry, and the doors of the artisans' shops were adorned with the best they had. All the people of the city joined in feasting and honoring him.....

Written in Valencia the 30th of July, 1473. At your orders, James Rossel, priest [106]. "

Shortly after his arrival in Valencia he called a reunion, a kind of diocesan synod, of his clergy, to whom he addressed, as the first of a series of lectures, an elegant and, above all, very practical oration.

This is the only one of the Legate's discourses delivered before the Valencian clergy, that has been preserved to posterity. It has been published by the editor of the " Epistolae et Commentarii Jacobi Piccolomini ", and has generally been so highly praised, that we would fall short of our duty, if we should not report it, although long, in its entirety. It is as follows :

" At last, Venerable Brethren in Christ, has dawned the day always desired and looked for, but withheld by circumstances until now. We have come to our spouse, the church of Valencia, famous all over the world for the glory of its priesthood. We recognize the people confided to our guardianship, second to none other Christian city in piety and faith. We, at last, contemplate this your venerable assembly, truly worthy of the Lord's vocation ; and in this alone, more than in all else, we find our joy, honor and legitimate pride. Wherefore do we give thanks to Almighty God, who has done us this favor ; we bless his holy name, and, with the saintly old man, do we sing the prophetic words [107] : " Now dost thou dismiss thy servant, O Lord, according to thy word, in peace, because my eyes have seen thy salvation ", whereby thou hast at last given peace and consolation to my longing soul. We also thank our Holy Father Sixtus, who by selecting our ministry for these Western kingdoms, has restored us, after a long absence, to our parents and native country.

106. See Document 76.
107. S. Luke, II, 29.

" Since we were, in the past, placed at the head of this so venerable a diocese, we were always aware, even during the years of our younger age, of both our duty and the significance of this city's public wishes ; we have known how much help towards pious living is afforded by the presence of a pastor, and the means of salvation procured to his flock by his personal care. We have not ignored that the title of bishop, that is, superintendent, requires his own labor, not that of others for him. We have also heard holy scripture commanding : [108] " Be diligent to know the countenance of thy cattle, and consider thy own flocks ". God, who reads every heart, is witness that my will never opposed the performance of all those duties ; but, to our sorrow, we have always been compelled to remain absent. We had to obey our Supreme Father and could not reced from the rules of our predecessors. Our dignity as a cardinal binds us with a stronger bond to the apostolic See ; and, once made a member of its council, we can not absent ourselves from it, when not sent forth on a special mission. Besides, the vast and laborious administration of the Roman chancery, established to be the first office aftlr that of the Pontiff, for the benefit of the whole Church, cannot, without great detriment, be deprived of its presiding official. Certainly, we must above all, ever obey the one to whom God has granted the greatest authority, and to whom we know to be the most obliged to submit. If, therefore, it has not, till this day, been granted to us to be with you, and if we have done our duty through another, this was not caused by our free will, but by the circumstances. Thus do rectors of many churches, the kings and princes, occupied with the most important affairs, appoint lieutenants to do their work ; thus the Roman Pontiff, consecrated, more than for all

108. Prov. XXVII. 23.

others, for one special diocese, names others to exercise his power for him ; thus, finally, Christ Jesus, who is in Heaven, establishes vicars among his flock, to confer the means of salvation.

" But now that, through his bounty, we are with you, there are, My Brethren, some special matters which charity does not allow Us to pass over in silence, during this our first meeting. Before all else, we give deserved thanks to you all, because you have expected our arrival with constant desire ; for we are assured of this, and it is an evident proof of your kind disposition towards us ; again, because, mindful of your filial duties, you have lovingly respected your absent father, you have listened to the words of those whom he has placed over you ; you have cared for your church and not allowed divine service in the house of God to be lacking in anything ; finally, because you have received us at our arrival with honors so great and solemn, that you have not only glorified our prelacy and mission as a legate, but especially manifested your good will towards us by your joyful demonstrations. This your great attachment to us has increased our own love towards you, as much as can be increased a love superabundant already. May God, the rewarder of all, grant in his kindness that we also may be able to reward you, one day, for your filial services.

" Yet, I encourage you all here together, Our Most beloved, although your works surpass any exhortation, to continue as you commenced in virtue and religion, and to offer to God, our Creator, and to the Valencian See, your mother, a devotedness more worthy of them from day to day. This, indeed, is required by your profession and your actions in the past. For, of you it is written : [109] " You are a chosen generation, a kingly priesthood, a holy nation and a pur-

109. I. Peter, II, 9.

chased people ". Be constantly attentive to the worship of the Most High, knowing that [110] " Holiness becomes his house unto length of days ", and that, by his worship we live from the altar and occupy honorable positions. Let us always so act that our ministry be at the service of the people and that, according to the Apostle St. Paul [111], " we give no occasion for speaking evil ; ... in carefulness not slothful, in spirit fervent, serving the Lord " [112]. Let all the acts of your life conform, as well as possible, with your profession, and observe such modesty as will not disturb the hearts or eyes of those who see you. Consecrated as we are to be models for others, we sin much more grievously, when we forget ourselves, by our example, than by the act itself. Let us walk honestly and guard our good reputation, which is most necessary to the success of our ministry.

" Among other things, Most Beloved, I recommend to you the observance of fraternal charity. " Walk with harmony in the house of the Lord " [113]. The Savior spoke [114] : " A commandment I give unto you: that you love one another, as I have loved you..., by this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one for another ". As much as this unity does for the glory and extension of the Church, so much detriment and disgrace is caused by degrading dissension ; " where envying and contention is, there is inconstancy, and every evil work ", as the Apostle St. James says [115]. " Let, therefore, every stone of stumbling and rock of scandal [116] be romoved from you ; be of one mind, have peace, and the God of peace and of love shall be with you " [117].

" And, since the liberty of the Church, granted by the

110. Ps. XCII, 5.
111. I. Tim. V, 14.
112. Rom. XII, 11.
113. Ps. LIV, 15.
114. St. John, XIII, 34, 35.
115. III, 16.
116. I. St. Peter, II, 8.
117. II. Cor, XIII, 11.

Lord and carefully preserved by our ancestors, has increased among the nations the veneration of the priesthood, we also beg you not only to be unanimous in guarding and defending it, which is necessary above all ; but also to avoid no pains, no dangers in trying to preserve it. If, indeed, for the sake of worldly ostentation, the vanitous Gentiles have gone to war, and with emulation exposed themselves to massacre and certain destruction, in order to keep their liberty ; how much more is such a conduct becoming us, priests, whose reward is God himself, and whose death is life ; to us, who have been placed as guardians of the Church, and to whom it is said [118] : " Strive for justice even unto death, and God will overthrow your enemies for you ". But should we lose this liberty, what else is left, what loss would be a greater detriment to us ? Would we not be stripped altogether of honor and power ? There is no doubt that, if this befalls us, we are despised and trampled under foot " the reproach of men and the outcasts of the people " [119]. Let each one combine with the others to preserve that independence, and all of you work together with our prelates, who will co-operate with you and become the leaders of our fights.... The fruit of your combat, with the strength of God, is liberty ; the consequence of flight is wretched servitude ; for it is written [120] : " The hand of the valiant shall bear rule ; but that, which is slothful, shall be under tribute ". Your excellence is great and the Church is above all nobility. With all your might procure liberty to both, act so in union with us, that, according to the word of our Savior [121] : " to Cesar be rendered the things that are Cesar's, and to God the things that are God's ".

" But these and similar topics we shall treat often again and more extensively.

118. Eccl., IV, 33.
119. Ps., XXI, 7.
120. Prov., XII, 24.
121. Matth., XXII, 21.

" And now, let us make a few remarks regarding public affairs. We are sent, as you know, My Brethren, in behalf of the deliverance of the faithful suffering under the sword of a savage foe. The Turk, after subjecting Asia and a great portion of Europe, has twice already descended upon Italy, destroying everything by murder and arson. Now he is on his way to the head of our religion, to the sanctuary of the Holy Apostles and Holy Martyrs, to the City of Rome; in order that, after the head is crushed, the rest of the Christian body may perish with it. If it behooves any one to come to its assistance, if it is any one's duty to stand up for its defense, it is principally so the duty of our Order. We are the leaders of the flocks, we stand guard on the watchtower, to keep them intact. It is but right that others should follow our example. We exhort your charity in the Lord, and we effusively and paternally beg you to help us, by your advice and other possible means, in the necessary work we have to perform on this our journey. We know how zealous you are in the house of God, and how willing to do his work, but there is no other concern that is better deserving your priestly patronage or will bring you greater merits.

" Be it, however, enough for the present to have spoken these few words in general. We shall let you know more fully, after we shall have taken the plow in hand, in what different ways you can promote our labor and how we can best make use of your co-operation.

" Now, dearly beloved Brethren, mutually united with us in the prelacy of this diocese, We bless you from the bottom of our heart and with the deepest affection in Christ Jesus, in the name of our Holy Father, to constantly keep his eyes from his high and holy throne upon this saintly diocese of

Valencia, and to preserve by his heavenly grace you, its sons, for his holy service " [122].

It may not be out of place here to make a few remarks, natural corollaries from the address of cardinal de Borgia to the clergy of his diocese, in order to correct a few historical mistakes and to clear up a few of its passages.

Clément de Vebron [123] assures us that the Legate closed the solemnities of his reception in Valencia, by ascending the pulpit and delivering an impassioned discourse to the crowds filling the cathedral. This is simply erroneous, as we learn from the contemporary report of the advocate James Rossell. It is, moreover, sufficient to read the allocution without preconceived judgment, to know that he addressed, not all the people, but only his " Venerable Brethren, his co-laborers in the diocese, the leaders of the flocks ".

If he so carefully justified his long absence, his object was to disprove his apparent neglect of the frequent requests of the clergy to see their beloved bishop among them, as it is clearly intimated where he speaks of their mutual affection.

But we may well ask : How could his saintly co-adjutor, bishop James Perez, and the clergymen, who were the glory of the Valencian church, love him and long for his arrival, and how could he himself dare to say before them, that the presence of a bishop and his personal administration afford much help to pious living and procure great means of salvation to his flock, if he were, mainly at that time, the profligate that later historians have caricatured him to be ? How could he dare to recommend to his clergy not to give occasion for blame or evil talk, not to sin by bad example, but to live honestly and take care of a good reputation ? It might be answered that he was a hypocrite in a strange country.

122. See Document 77.

123. Les Borgia, p. 118.

But the most plausible proofs of his pretended misconduct are imputed to himself ; and, in fact, he was in a city well acquainted with the gossips of Rome, at the very place where he had passed his infancy and his youth ; he was in the presence of a numerous and honorable suite that, for years, had lived in his intimacy. To an impartial reader these exhortations necessarily sound like those of a zealous, holy bishop.

Cardinal de Borgia insisted on the virtue of brotherly love, because, at that time, the system of ecclesiastical benefices, with their reservations, expectatives, investitures and accumulations, often gave occasion to jealousies and even to contestations, that kept busy the tribunals of Rome. The system was revised not long after, but, meanwhile, fraternal charity needed encouragement.

Not a few readers may be puzzled by the cardinal's efforts to make of his clergy a company of soldiers, defenders of the liberty of the Church in Spain. But we have noticed already that the kings of Castilla and of Aragon, for the sake of power and wealth, more than from zeal of religion, were abusing papal concessions to extend the authority of the Spanish Inquisition over one diocese after another, and to deprive the bishops and the Pope of their God-given rights, as guardians of the true faith. Only two years later, in A. D. 1474, pope Sixtus IV saw himself compelled to order his envoy Nicholas Francus, to the kingdom of Castilla and Leon, to complain of the king's hostile proceedings against the Church [124]. Again, we have seen how the Spanish temporal lords, public robbers like those of Italy, directly or indirectly deprived the clergy of part or of the whole of their revenues. Roderic de Borgia's foremost quality ever was his love and defense of right and justice, especially

124. Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Eman., Ms. Jesuitici, no. 275, f° 174.

in behalf of the weak and the poor and, above all, of the Church. When in Rome, he used his authority and influence to stop such evils ; but feeling the need of the suffering clergy's assistance, he spoke on this occasion as he did.

It is said that cardinal de Borgia was little advanced in literature. This may be true in the opinion of the Renaissance men of his day, who by literature understood the style of the pagan classics, Latin poetry and impure romance ; but no reader of this address will fail to notice that he had mastered, not only canon law, but also the Sacred Scriptures, which he freely quoted.

A copy of the Legate's address was afterwards found among the papers of the cardinal of Pavia, and attributed to the latter by the editor of his " Letters and Commentaries " [125]. Some late historians, like Fleury and the Encyclopedia Britannica, have gladly followed the editor's error, but the supposition is wholly unwarranted and its falsity appears from these facts:

The " Letters and Commentaries " also contain writings of yet other notable personages, such as several letters of pope Paul II, and, on page 225, one of Sixtus IV. The cardinal of Pavia was not likely to assist, by writing a beautiful speech, a colleague whose mission he had coveted himself, and which he afterwards belittled. Nor would cardinal de Borgia have requested such a service from one with whom he was on cold, if not on unfriendly, terms ; all the less, while he needed no such help from any one, for Jacob of Volterra [126], who often heard him, testifies that he was a fluent speaker, using to good advantage his short

125. Epistolae et Commentarii Jacobi Piccolomini Cardinalis Papiensis, Edit. 1506, f° 228v°.

126. Diarii della Corte di Roma, ad an. 1481.

studies of literature. Finally, it suffices to read a few of cardinal Piccolomini's letters, to see that his style does not agree with that of the Legate's allocution : His sentences are complex, his phrases abrupt, his words strictly pagan Latin and transposed ; while cardinal de Borgia admits, besides Holy Scripture texts, a few medieval terms ; is simple and fluent, easily read and understood by an ordinary Latin scholar. The thoughts, moreover, of the two are as different as their expressions.

We do not know how long it took the cardinal to finish his instructions to the Valencian clergy, and, as he had announced, to explain to them the principal object of his mission. The great difficulty of the undertaking against the Turks was not to gather willing soldiers, as it had been seen shortly before at Ancona, but to collect the resources wherewith to equip them and to cover the subsequent expenses of the projected military expedition. Two not unusual means had been devised to gather the necessary funds. The Legate published all over his diocese of Valencia the levy of integral tithes, that is, of ten per cent on all church revenues [127], and conferred about them with the beneficiaries in a manner satisfactory to both parties. We did not learn the definite result of these conferences, but we may well presume that the legate was highly pleased with it, because he had before this time, on a less solemn occasion, obtained from his Valencian clergy, a voluntary donation of five thousand pound Valencian money, to be expended by pope Pius II in his proposed warfare against the Turks. The Pontiff had granted in return, on the 5th of June, 1464, the same indulgences as he had proclaimed for actual crusaders [128].

127. Cfr. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Bull., Div. an. I, II, III, IV, t. IV, Regest. 663, f° 489.

128. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii II, de Cur., an. VI, t. XXIX. Regest. 496,f° 73.

The cardinal legate also announced the grant of a " cruciata ", a plenary indulgence, to last until the 21st of March, 1473 [129]. This indulgence was afterwards extended till the feast of Easter, 1476 [130], to all the faithful, who would contribute a certain sum of money according to their condition and rank, towards the necessary expedition against the Turks, the cruel foes of Christianity.

It is probable that the publication of both the tithes and the indulgences was, in a general manner at least, issued also for the whole of Spain, from the city of Valencia.

Roderic de Borgia spent the next few days in company with his nearest relatives, who were mostly living in his episcopal city or in its neighborhood, and whom he had not seen for over twenty years. He was preparing at the same time his official visit to the king and the clergy of Aragon.

Before attending, however, to his more important duties, he executed a special commission received from the Pope, namely, to reconcile with the Church the repentant murderers of the bishop of Pamplona. Pedro Peralto, the constable of Navarra and several of its prominent citizens had rendered themselves guilty of the sacrilegious crime, and pope Sixtus IV had, on the last Holy Thursday pronounced against them the ban of excommunication. This penalty had brought the guilty ones to their senses, and they had begged the Pontiff's pardon. The work of mercy was confided to cardinal de Borgia, who had, in due time, summoned them to Valencia. They appeared before him with great humility in the cathedral, and he imparted to them the solemn absolution, after imposing the penance prescribed by the Pope himself. They all must, at the first call, enlist for three continuous years in the army against the Turks; and, besides,

129. Cfr. Ibid., fo 493vo.

130. Ibid., Sixti IV. Legationes, an. 4 ad 8, t. I, Regest. 679, fo 64.

Pedro, their leader, must build a chapel on the spot where the bishop was slain, and endow it for the celebration of divine service for the repose of the soul of the murdered prelate [131].

The cardinal legate had resolved to perform his duties first in the kingdom of Aragon. As soon as he landed he dispatched an envoy to king John II, who was, together with his son and heir, the future Ferdinand the Catholic, besieging his rebellious city of Barcelona. The King returned word, inviting him to Tarragona [132], since he was unable to confer with him in the Catalonian capital, which he had now succeeded to invest by land and sea, after a stubborn war of ten years [133].

The legate followed the King's directions, and went to Tarragona with a brilliant following, among whom he had for special attendants his paternal cousin, Alfonse de Borgia, and the Valencian doctor of law, James Prats, an apostolic abbreviator [134]. He was respectfully received in this city, and the chapter of the metropolitan church gave a banquet in his honor, of which the bill of fare has been partly preserved. There figured on the table the flesh of two calves, two brace of geese, three of ducks and other birds ; and, for a last sip, two bottles of Greek wine, made at the villa of Selva [135].

Many illustrious personages had gathered in Tarragona [136] to wait upon the apostolic legate. Among them was prince Ferdinand of Aragon, king of Sicily, espoused or affianced, in A. D. 1469, to the princess Isabella, sister of the king of

131. Leonetti, Alessandro VI, Vol. I, p. 129, Ref. to Porcius, Comment.
132. Ferreras, Hist. de España, vol. 10, p. 293.
133. Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. I, p. 155.
134. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Bull., lib. X, t. XV, Reg. 560, f° 186vo.
135. Villanueva, Viagio Liter., t. XX, p. 19.
136. Id., ibid.

Castilla, when he was only eighteen years old. He had remained with his father in Aragon and helped him in his constant warfare ; as he was now assisting him in the subjection of Barcelona. Ferdinand was anxious to receive a requested marriage dispensation ; for he and his betrothed lady were blood relations in the third degree, and we can imagine how he felt when cardinal de Borgia handed to him the precious document, issued already on the 1st of December of the year, 1471, and to be applied by Alfonso Carillo, archbishop of Toledo. As was but natural, the prince informed his bride at once of the papal marriage license. Let it be noticed here that William Prescott [137] has on this occasion shown his ignorance of the Catholic Church laws and misinformed his readers, giving them to understand that the marriage of the Catholic king must have been null and void.

Ferdinand further requested the legate to promote his interests, that is, the succession of Isabella and himself to the throne of Henry IV, king of Castilla. Favored with friendly promises, he then sent word to his royal father, requesting him to come up to Tarragona and transact his business with the cardinal. But the King excused himself, alleging the impossibility of leaving the siege of Barcelona, and invited the legate to the town of San Culgat [138].

Anxious to make peace between John II and his rebel subjects, and to interest him in the undertaking of the Supreme Pontiff, the legate left Tarragona for the new meeting place, close to the scenes of war. He arrived in Villa Franca on the 20th of August, 1472 ; and, from this city, the archbishop of Tarragona sent along with him a few companies of men-at-arms, for his security. The King received him with great pleasure, and the whole camp honor-

137. Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. I, pp. 207, 208.

138. Ferreras, ibid., p. 293.

ed him with all the demonstrations usual on such occasions. The palace of Belesguart was placed at his disposal ; and, after a few days, the King conferred with him and presented his own requests, the principal one of which was that of the cardinal's co-operation in securing to his son, Ferdinand, the succession to the throne of Castilla [139].

The legate, on his part, endeavored to draw the king of Aragon into a coalition with the other Christian potentates against the Turks ; and, about the same time, the ambassadors of Venice made every effort towards the same effect ; but all was in vain. King John alleged as excuses his present war, his discord with the king of France and his expenditures during the ten last years of constant warfare [140]. The legate also solicited entrance and recognition from the beleaguered city, in order to reconcile them with their King and make it possible for the latter to turn his arms against the common enemy. But the Barcelonians, although reduced to desperate straits, rejected every request and reason. They treated in a like manner their former protectors, not only refusing to admit the envoys of Burgundy, but even to let a few of their own men go and confer with them [141].

It seems, however, that cardinal de Borgia, who had been sent as an angel of peace, did his duty, even under these discouraging circumstances ; for it is noted that king John was unwilling to expose fair Barcelona to the devastating horrors of a storm ; and, when its inhabitants were reduced to the last extremity, he concluded with them, on the 22[d] of December, 1472 an agreement equally honorable to both parties [142].

Unable to do any more towards the restoration of peace, the legate took leave of the King, on the 4[th] of September,

139. Id., ibid.
140. Ferreras, Hist. de España, vol. 10, p. 298.
141. Ibid., p. 292, 293.
142. Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. I, p. 159.

1472 ; and set out for the city of Tortosa, where, on the 10th, he was to meet prince Ferdinand again and his brother, the archbishop of Saragossa. But Ferdinand, while cardinal de Borgia was in San Culgat with the King, made a hurried excursion to Valencia, to obtain from the bishop of Siguenza information regarding his bride's rival, Johanna Beltraneja. He then returned to the siege of Barcelona and further made a visit to princess Isabella, who, to avoid an epidemic of tertian fever in Alcala, had moved to the town of Tordelaguna.

The legate, disappointed by the prince's absence from Tortosa, returned to Valencia.

Prince Ferdinand, frustrated in turn by the cardinal's sudden departure, followed him to Valencia, and further conferred with him and with the bishop of Siguenza about his interests in Castilla. They were still in Valencia when the news that Barcelona was willing to capitulate reached that city, and they went with all the nobility and throngs of the people to the principal church to give thanks to God [143].

It was most likely in Tarragona that the papal legate fulfilled another part of his duties, by imposing a tithe of all church revenues on the clergy of each and all the provinces and territories subject to the crown of Aragon, and by proclaiming a plenary indulgence for all who would contribute a certain amount of money towards the expedition against the Turks.

The duty of paying a full tenth part of their income met with much opposition on the part of both higher and lower clergymen. Mindful of the difficulties it would take to collect the tribute imposed, the legate consented to have several conferences with them, in order to lighten the burden; but his leniency seemed to encourage their resistance, which

143. Ferreras, ubi supra, p. | 297.

ended into an absolute refusal by many. The cardinal exposed the situation to pope Sixtus IV, who answered him, on the 13th of December, 1472, with a bull authorizing him to excommunicate, all over Spain, any clergymen, even patriarchs or archbishops, who would refuse to pay the tithes imposed [144]. We have not found, however, that the legate ever made any use of this extraordinary faculty ; but the Pontiff was obliged, as late as the 13th of September, 1476, to order Nicholas Francus, his envoy to the court of Spain, to compel the recalcitrant beneficiaries to comply at last with their obligations [145].

As the cardinal legate had done in regard to the king of Aragon, so also did he send information of his arrival to king Henry IV of Castilla, a few days after his landing in Valencia ; and he asked him permission to enter his kingdom and to make use of the faculties of his legation. The King was well pleased at receiving this notification and, on the advice of the Grand Master of the religious military order of Santiago, decided that the bishop of Siguenza, Peter Gonçalez de Mendoza, should go to Valencia in order to bid the legate welcome to Castilla. The bishop readily accepted the mission, and patiently waited in Valencia, till the cardinal was ready to start for Madrid ; for both his King and the Grand Master gave him good hopes of a cardinal's hat. He prepared for the journey at once and went on his errand, accompanied by many of his relations and a numerous retinue. While he was in Valencia, prince Ferdinand of Aragon called on him, and begged him and his house for assistance in securing the crown of Castilla. The cardinal legate supported the Aragonian pretendant, and bishop de Mendoza promised, for himself and his relatives, to do as

144. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Bull. Div. an. I ad VII, t. III, Regest. 662, f° 25.

145. Ibid., Sixti IV. Legat. an. IV ad VIII, t. I. Regest. 679, f° 28vo.

requested, while the legate, on his part, offered his services to procure him the oft requested hat, the concession of which had, in fact, already been decided upon in Rome.

The legate, having thus finished his work in regard to Aragon, left for the kingdom of Castilla, accompanied by the bishop, who directed him through the possessions of the Grand Master, according to whose orders he was received in the most friendly manner. When he had arrived in the vicinity of Madrid, king Henry IV ordered Diego del Castillo, a member of his privy council, his grand chaplain and historiographer, to make arrangements for the cardinal's solemn reception and lodgings. On the appointed day the King went as far as the road to Alcala with all the lords of his court, to receive the legate, and, after the meeting, they came, both together, to the gate of the city, where a great number of ecclesiastics and religious were waiting for them, drawn up in order of procession, with the crosses of the several parishes ; many of them being vested in very rich copes and, with his assistants, the bishop of Astorga attired in pontificals. The city councilmen stood waiting, with a very rich canopy, on which was embroidered the escutcheon of the Pope ; and, after the veneration of the cross, the procession moved on. The King and the legate entered under the canopy, the king marching at the left side and the legate at his right. In this manner they arrived at St. James's parish church, where the legate gave the benediction to all present and granted indulgences. Then the King conducted him to the door of his apartments adjoining the church, and here they separated [146].

Four days after, king Henry, surrounded by grandees of his kingdom and the officials of his court, gave an audience to the papal legate in the church of St. Jerome's monastery,

146. Ferreras, Hist. de España, | vol. 10, p. 294, from del Castillo.

during which cardinal de Borgia handed to His Majesty the brief of his legation and stated, in a short speech, that the object of his mission to the Spanish monarchies was to provide for the needs of Christianity in general, whose ruin was threatened by the formidable power of the Turks ; to maintain ecclesiastical discipline, to promote the welfare of the realms of Spain, and, finally, to confer with His Majesty about many particulars, for the benefit of the apostolic See and of his own kingdom. The King expressed his gratitude for the good intentions of the Sovereign Pontiff, and offered to be at his service as best he could. He named Diego del Castillo, his private counsellor and chronicler, to lay, in his name, before the legate the matters of interests to his royal Majesty [147].

One of these was his desire to have the bishop of Siguenza nominated a cardinal. According to his special faculties, the legate answered this request by assuring the King that his favorite, Peter Gonçalez de Mendoza, would receive the red hat at the next promotion of cardinals. To pacify the warlike parties of Castilla and Leon, Roderic de Borgia proposed for cardinalitial honors another worthy prelate, Auxias de Podio. The elevation of both took place on the following 7th of May, 1473. Soon after, the news reached Madrid, where king Henry was sojourning [148].

Both the King and the legate remained in Madrid till after Christmastide [149]. The latter, inclined towards favoring princess Isabella, the King's sister, and Ferdinand of Aragon, often renewed his prudent efforts to promote peace between the two rival factions of Castilla, one of which fought for

147. Ibid., p. 295.

148. Ferreras, ubi supra, p. 316 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 549. Pastor mistakes in calling cardinal de Mendoza archbishop of Toledo, while this archbishop was Alfonso Carillo at the time.

149. Ferreras, p. 295, from del Castillo.

princess Johanna, whose alleged descent from the King was denied by the other. But the feelings of both parties were so bitter, their proud stubbornness so unyielding, that the peacemaker finally understood that not words but swords must eventually settle the strife. The pontifical envoy, Nicholas Francus, succeeded no better in the year 1474 [150].

In order to perform his most important duties, the cardinal legate, with the approval of the King, had, in due time, called a convention of all the dioceses of Castilla and Leon in the city of Segorve, where each cathedral was to be represented by one dignitary and one canon. He went to the place of meeting and was hospitably received in the episcopal palace.

On the day appointed, during the month of January, 1473, he opened the conferences, in the presence of the King, with an address to all present ; explaining to them the object of the Supreme Pontiff in sending him to these countries, namely, to avert the danger justly feared for Holy Religion and the Christian States from the formidable power of the Grand Turk, who, after subjecting to his tyranny the Empire of the East, was now hankering after every province of the West. He showed how, since arms cannot be stayed but with arms, with troops on land or sea, the necessities of the mother Church were such as to require all her children to contribute towards the means needed on this particular occasion, when the danger was so great ; and he added that, while the churches of Spain gloried in being so thoroughly Catholic, there could be no doubt but that they would help as much as possible to the success of an undertaking so holy [151]. He then expressed in what this help should consist, and prescribed a full tithe from the clergy and free collec-

150. Rome, Bibl. Vittor. Eman., Ms. Jesuit., no. 275, f° 174.

151. Ferreras, Hist. de España, vol. 10, p. 300.

tions from all the faithful, publishing also a plenary indulgence or " cruzada ".

When the legate had finished speaking, the diocesan representatives answered that the matter was of the utmost importance and required reflection. The cardinal readily admitted further deliberations and enlarged their scope, so as to include also certain points of ecclesiastical discipline, in such a manner that this convention assumed the proportions of a national council, as it is called by Mariana [152], Spondanus [153] and historians generally. By several it is incorrectly named the council of Madrid.

Ignorance and other concomitant vices had slipped into the ranks of the Spanish clergy. Cadets of rich or noble families became clerics simply to obtain benefices, and, to enjoy fatter prebends, sought priestly ordination, even though not knowing Latin. The cardinal solemnly forbade any bishop to ordain any candidate deficient in the knowledge of the official language of the Church [154]. To remedy the ignorance of theology and canon law, he agreed with the diocesan delegates in the addition of two canonries to each cathedral chapter, one of these to be given by the bishop and the college of canons to a master of theology, and the other to a doctor of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, whose duties it would be to instruct the aspirants to holy priesthood. The legate made use of his special faculties to institute the offices and their prebends, " prebendas doctoral y magistral ", at once, and pope Sixtus IV, soon after, confirmed his action [155]. Thus was cardinal Roderic de Borgia a forerunner of the

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152. De Rebus Hispan. ad an. 1473.

153. Annal. Eccles., C. Baronii Contin. ad an. 1473.

154. Should cardinal Roderic de Borgia arise from his grave, he might yet be useful in this country.

155. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Armar. 32, no. 27, f° 42 ; Ferreras, ubi supra, p. 301 ; Labbei Concilia, Venetiis 1732, t. 19, col. 382.

council of Trent in the institution of diocesan seminaries ; and the beginning which he made continues till this day, in the existence of the " canonici theologales ".

The legate's example in celebrating the council of Segorve and his admonitions during its progress had at once other most salutary results. The archbishop of Toledo, Alfonso Carillo, convoked a provincial council in the city of Aranda towards the end of that same year, where it was forbidden to promote even to any of the sacred major orders a cleric unable to speak Latin, where also the time for subsequent councils and synods was set, and where, finally, bad morals were threatened and piety encouraged [156].

A few dioceses in the territories of the King's bitterest enemies had failed to send their delegates to Segorve, but the bishop of Coria importuned the cardinal to go to Valladolid, where he would inform him of several things most important for the benefit and peace of the Spanish kingdoms. The legate spoke of these invitations to king Henry, but the monarch told him not to pay attention to any proposal of his rebellious subjects. The legate could not ignore the established power and destroy his own work in Castilla [157].

The subject of the tithes imposed was carefully discussed at the council of Segorve. The Castilian clergy were not opposed to lending assistance to the Roman Pontiff in his religious and humanitarian projects, but it soon became manifest how difficult it would be to collect the individual taxes in the extensive realm, and it was proposed to commute the tithes for one common subsidy, which the legate reduced to a hundred thousand florins of Aragon. The diocesan representatives offered to pay an installment of thirty thousand at the feast of All Saints of the following year. They let, however, the Pontiff know how heavy was the

156. Labbe and Cossart, Concilia, t. XIII, p. 1448.

157. Ferreras, ubi supra, p. 301.

burden imposed upon them, on account of their own needs and of other frequent tributes exacted from them. In consideration of their pleadings, pope Sixtus IV, on the 1st of July, 1474, further diminished their obligations to sixty thousand florins, provided they should actually pay one half of that amount, as they had promised, on the feast of All Saints, and the other half on the next following St. John's day [158]. The subsidy was not, however, entirely paid at the stipulated time, and the Pontiff afterwards requested the Catholic kings to help his envoy, Nicholas Francus, in collecting the arrears [159].

Cardinal de Borgia prescribed also all over Spain the ways in which the indulgence oblations should be received from the people, and they should be guarded and forwarded to the papal treasury ; and, in particular, he instituted, as general treasurers, the archbishop of Tarragona and the bishop of Huesca. But this source of revenue seems to have been neglected ; for, in A. D. 1474 or 1475, the envoy, Francus, was ordered to take up the accounts of the collectors and of the treasurers of the cruzada funds [160].

When the council was brought to an end, the legate left Segorve, probably for Madrid, and passed some days in settling several ecclesiastical matters. He then went over to Alcala, to call on prince Ferdinand of Aragon, lady Isabella and the archbishop of Toledo, who entertained him magnificently for some days. After this the cardinal travelled on to Guadalajara, where he was well received and honored by the marquis de Santillana and his brothers. Having stopped there a few days, he took his course towards the kingdom of Aragon and returned to Valencia [161].

158. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Bull. Div. an. I, II, III, IV, t. IV, Regest 663, f° 489.

159. Rome, Bibl. Vittor. Eman. Ms. Jesuit. no. 275, f° 174.

160. Ibid.

161. Ferreras, Hist. de España, vol. 10, p. 301, after del Castillo and Colmenares.

After finishing the arduous task of his legation, cardinal de Borgia was thus back again in his episcopal city, in the midst of his own clergy and of his dear relations, and took a well-deserved and needed rest, although we may readily assume that he had yet to put many a finishing touch to the details of his labors.

The people of Xativa, his birthplace, requested from him the honor of a visit, and he both graciously and joyfully accepted the invitation. Thereupon the members of the city council requested their agent in Valencia, James Rossell, to send them directions regarding the ceremonial to be observed in the reception of their illustrious guest. On the 30th of July, 1473, Rossell answered to them : " The most reverend cardinal must be received with the greatest solemnity, because he is born in your place, and in consideration of his dignity and of the very great power with which he has to do good to your city. He then describes the solemnities that had taken place at the legate's entry into Valencia, and concludes his report by adding : " You see, gentlemen, that it is not a matter of much expenditure, the greatest outlay being that for your canopy, which ought to be worthy of the cardinal. Consider, gentlemen, what honor it is for your city to have him born in it; and accord him a solemn feast, but you cannot do without the canopy. He sent over to us the reverend Alfageri, master of theology, one of his attendants, with the letter for the magnificent governor, the judge and councilmen of your city, to notify you of his visit. His Lordship remains in Valencia to-night and will leave shortly after. Be active and make the necessary preparations ; and do him much honor, because you will not do more than he deserves. Manage everything for the best, and it shall be done. Written in Valencia, on the 30th of July, 1473. Have understanding with the collegiate chapter about the procession,

although they also will have their burden. At your orders, James Rossell, priest [162]. "

Villanueva [163] found other contemporary records giving some particulars of cardinal Roderic de Borgia's visit to his native town. He was, namely, received with much pomp, on the 5th day of August, 1473, entering by the gate called de Cocentayna, and passing over the plaza of St. Peter's to the square of the Borgias, thus named after his paternal grandfather Jofre Gil de Borgia. When, one of the following days, he was taking a walk through the city with the councilmen, he pointed out to them the house where he was born [164].

At the end of his visit, the officials of Xativa asked him certain favors for their city and its churches, alleging the fact of his being born there. He answered them that he certainly was a native son of that place, that he loved it so well and thought of it so often, that he would go to work with all his might, so that their requests should be granted. They confidently could, he said, commit it all to his care. The cardinal left Xativa after a stay of six days, on the 11th of the same month of August [165] and went back to Valencia. Ximeno [166] also mentions this visit, but mistakes in saying that the legate made it when on his way to Castilla.

ARTICLE VI. — THE LEGATE RETURNS TO ROME.

In Valencia he next prepared for his return to Rome. On the 11th of September, 1473, he added a codicil to his last will, securing a legacy of eight thousand pound Valencian reals in favor of his nephew, Jofre de Borgia, lord of

162. See Document 76.
163. Viaje Literario a las Iglesias de España, t. IV, p. 115.
164. Supra, Document 1.
165. Villanueva, ubi supra.
166. Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, p. 67.

Villalonga and Anna [167]. Two Venetian galleys that were to transport him, his suite and many other passengers, were lying at the Valencian docks.

We did not learn the date of his setting sail, and the voyage seems to have been uneventful till he neared the Pisan coast, when, on the 10th of October, a fearful storm arose at sea and chased the vessels towards land. The one that carried the legate early veered from the rockbound coast and remained afloat, although tossed about, with a shattered stern and constantly in danger of submersion. The other galley, less prudent, was repeatedly hurled against the rocks, during a whole night and part of a day, till at last it broke up and sank [168].

The material losses were estimated at thirty thousand florins, and one hundred and eighty or even over two hundred persons, among whom seventy-five of the cardinal's suite, perished in the wreck. There were lost three bishops, namely, those of St. Mary de Oreto, of Assisi and of Castro, more than twelve prothonotaries and doctors of law, besides six men of knightly rank [169]. Jacob of Volterra adds that a few, by swimming, reached land alive, one of these being James Buttafogo, a Portuguese by birth and Volterra's colleague as an abbreviator, whose arms and legs, as Volterra himself saw it, had been bruised and wounded in several places by the boxes and wreckage through which he had made his way to safety.

At last the wind abated and the captain of the legate's galley steered with much difficulty into the port of

167. See Document 28.

168. Ciaconius, Vitae Roman. Pontiff. T. II, col. 991, t. III, col. 6.

169. Oldoinus, ap. Ciacon. Vitae Pont. Rom., t. II col. 991 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 418 ; Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof. u. Staatsarchivs, cod. 987, f° 71 or seq. : Diarii della Corte di Roma di Giacomo Volaterrano ; Card. Papiensis, Epist. et Comment. f° 265vo. A letter dated Siena, Oct. 20th, 1473.

Leghorn [170]. Pastor [171] found in the archives of State in Florence a letter written on the 12th of October, 1473, wherein the cardinal himself recounts his misfortune. From Leghorn he went to take a short rest in Pisa, and thence to Siena, where he stayed one night with Ammanati, the cardinal of Pavia, and then returned straigtway to Rome [172].

As it was a duty of every papal delegate to do, so did also cardinal de Borgia submit to the Pontiff a detailed account of all his expenses and receipts during his legation [173], and gave a full report of all his doings, together with the actual result of his labor.

Pastor asserts [174] that the legate to Spain did not accomplish for the intended crusade any more than the legate to France, cardinal Bessarion, whose efforts seem to have met with no success of any kind. It is true that cardinal de Borgia exerted himself in vain on several occasions ; yet, he mitigated the revengeful disposition of king John II, and thus contributed to the pacification of Aragon and Catalonia; he conciliated the good will of the future Catholic kings, Ferdinand and Isabella, and placed them under obligations to the Holy See, as Hieronymus Porcius reminded them of it, in the dedication to them of his Commentary [175]. It was not within the scope and power of a papal legate to establish peace between the warring and bitter factions of Castilla ; but he had done enough, says Höfler, who is no friend of his, by helping to shape the political conditions, by which

170. Oldoinus, ap. Ciacon., ubi supra, col. 991 ; de l'Epinois, in Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 385.

171. Ubi supra, footn. 4.

172. Ammanati's Epistola of the 20th of October, 1473 ; Jacob of Volterra, ubi supra.

173. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Secret. Lib. I, t. I, Regest. 546, f° 62. See Document 78.

174. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 418.

175. Rome, Bibl. Barberin. B. B. B. I, 13.

alone peace and rest could bud forth [176]. Furthermore, cardinal de Borgia improved the clergy of Valencia and of all Castile and Leon ; finally, he collected money at least sufficient to pay the expenses of his mission and secured considerable subsidies for the papal fleet against the Turks.

The fickle cardinal Ammanati is authority for Pastor to assert that legate de Borgia accomplished nothing in Spain ; yet, that cardinal [177], constantly informed of the legate's doings by a confidential correspondent, a dean in Toledo, wrote from Siena to the Vicechancellor, on the 27th of April, 1473, a letter from which we translate the following extract :

" Most Reverend Father : It is already twelve months that you are absent. I would advise you to remain away much longer, if either the circumstances did not baffle your activity, or if you could be more useful anywhere than in Rome. But I now counsel you to return, for several reasons : You have now seen your native country, to the comfort of yourself and of your relatives ; you have been in Upper Spain and been honored more than the other legates ; you have tried to do what belonged to your office, and you have faithfully accomplished everywhere all that lay within your power ; you have left undone nothing wherein we might find fault with your prudence, your zeal or your integrity. We cannot but praise you as a careful and cautious father. I do not see what good a longer absence can procure, and I fear that it may lessen your esteem ; for you know that every place here is full of jealous and calumnious people, who praise at times, but, when occasion offers, are not unwilling to slander [178]. You know also that the more time we spend on hopeless projects, the stronger grows the conviction of our incapacity. If no human power can unite Aragon and

176. Höfler, R. Borgia, 37, ap. Pastor, ubi supra, footn. 3.
177. Epist. et Comment., f° 256.
178. Such we will find Ammanati himself to be.

Castilla, nor the factions of the latter kingdom, what is the use in trying to remove obstacles that are immovable. He, that has done what he could do, has abundantly given satisfaction to the public... Let, therefore, Your Eminence turn your attention towards us, and commence to think of the affairs pending in Rome. All wish to see you, all consider your presence as necessary [179], to exert your predominating influence, in order to prevent the accomplishment of imprudent projects, and especially the admission to the Sacred College of an illegitimate, whom you have so often called the bastard, " nosti quem totiens spurium dixisti ".

Would cardinal Ammanati have written so to his colleague de Borgia, at the very time that the latter's conduct was, according to his enemies, the most immoral ? Is it possible that cardinal de Borgia would have enjoyed such decisive consideration, at such a time, with his colleagues and the Supreme Pontiff? Is it credible that he was relied on to keep out of the Sacred College an illegitimate candidate, he who was raising one bastard after another, whom he might wish to elevate some day to cardinalitial honors, as he is accused of having done afterwards ?

A Document of better authority and of greater weight is a bull of pope Sixtus IV, the main object of which is the final settlement of the legate's financial accounts, and whose preamble ought to be considered as the final judgment pronounced on the merits of his exertions during the time of his legation. We here translate its introduction :

" Sixtus etc. To our Venerable Brother, Roderic, bishop of Albano, Vicechancellor of the Holy Roman Church, Health etc. Your irreproachable virtue demands, and your tried honesty in matters entrusted to you well deserves, that we should dutifully attend to your indemnity and that of your

179. Card. Papien. Epist. et | Comment., f° 256.

heirs and successors ; and prevent that, on the occasion of the praiseworthy labor and the excellent work you performed for the Apostolic See and the Roman Church, you or they might suffer molestation or loss in the future. It is but fair, indeed, that those to whom administrations and the management of affairs have been confided, especially when they have shown great care and ability and performed their duties faithfully and courageously, should not suffer damage through that by which they have earned praise and reward. Now, therefore, Venerable brother, whom we have sent to the kingdoms of Spain, to transact important and difficult business, you have acquitted yourself in a praiseworthy manner of the duties of that mission, and, in accordance with our special faculties and commands as also with the general authority of the legation, you have held considerable offices and conducted arduous matters ; you have, during that time, received several sums of money for our needs and service and those of the said See and Church and the apostolic treasury ; sums, in particular, proceeding from the use of several faculties granted by various letters of ours, and you have retained those amounts for yourself in compensation of the salaries due to you on account of the legation, as it very clearly appears from the facts themselves and from your well computed and verified accounts laid before us. And, since through your carefulness, your vigilance and watchful providence, you have tried, as far as it was in your power, to conduct to their legitimate end the matters confided to you in the said countries, and have, therefore, made yourself worthy of much commendation and condign reward ;... Now, for those reasons, etc... " The Pontiff and cardinal de Borgia mutually handed to each other a clear and indisputable receipt for all moneys due, received and paid on the occasion of the Spanish legation. " Given in Rome at

St. Peter's, in the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord 1474, the 23d of May " [180].

Hieronymus Porcius [181] tells us that cardinal de Borgia remained a perpetual legate or papal chargé d'affaires for Spain. In fact, we notice from a letter of pope Sixtus IV [182] written in the month of February, 1483, that the cardinal was the intermediary between the Pontiff and queen Elizabeth, especially when the latter wished to obtain unusual favors. This same Codex [183] contains several other documents, in particular on pages 106, 352, 626, from which it is apparent that the cardinal was an acting agent between the Roman and the Spanish courts, especially in regard to the royal inquisition, against whose doings the Pope had often to object.

We should not finish our account of this legation without reporting also the accusations made against the legate's behavior in Spain.

Although the ambition of cardinal Ammanati had been frustrated by the appointment of five of his colleagues as papal legates to Catholic countries [184], he had still the courage to write, from Foligno, on the 26th of December, 1471, to cardinal de Borgia and to congratulate him, " according to the custom of our College ", and to wish him Godspeed. He regretted but one thing, namely, that he would be deprived of the presence of a cardinal, whom he loved so well, in whom he had placed his hopes and whose protection he would now have to forego [185].

We have heard already how highly the same Ammanati

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180. See Document, 78.
181. Ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 608.
182. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Brev., t. 15, p. 380.
183. In Armario 39.
184. His letter of March 5th, 1472, to the bishop of Tivoli.
185. Card. Papien. Litterae, f° 216.

praised the legate's dutiful efforts and labor in Spain, when trying to hasten his return, for fear of jealous slanderers !

After such letters we could not expect from the cardinal of Pavia a word of censure against the legate. The cardinal, however, first manifested his disappointment at the selection of the legates in a letter from Foligno, written on the 1st of January, 1472, in which he exposed to a friend, " Francis, dean of Toledo ", his absolute disapproval of the whole system of papal legations. " We have often watched legates, " he says, " and what great thing did they ever accomplish ? Would to God that they should not prove harmful at times ! Why send to Spain a legate of such importance?... " He roundly blames the Sacred Consistory for the whole undertaking. " I write all this ", he continues, " with fear of condemning myself, for my opposition to such a high council ; but I am speaking with you, and I doubt not that, for the sake of our friendship, you shall keep it all a secret ". In order to find evidence wherewith to confirm his spiteful opinion, he closes his letter by saying : " Farewell, Father. As you have commenced, continue writing often to me, and write long letters, and write every minor detail " [186].

We do not know whether cardinal Ammanati had been misled by this Spanish correspondent, or whether his jealousy had been aroused by the praises which he himself and many others had, shortly before, bestowed upon cardinal de Borgia ; but, on the 20th of October, 1473, he wrote from Siena another confidential letter to his Francis of Toledo, wherein he utters the fiercest charges against the legates of France and of Spain. We may, in passing by, remark that it is no small honor for cardinal de Borgia to be blamed in company with Bessarion, a saintly man and one of the

186. Card. Papiensis Litterae, | fo 219vo.

greatest cardinals who ever lived. Of the legate of Spain Ammanati dares to say : " He procured the election of pope Sixtus IV by deceit and corrupt practices ; he obtained from him permission to visit his native country, as he had long since desired ; in order to appear in glory, to make a show of himself before the people, and reap a general harvest in all three of the kingdoms. He sailed to Valencia, and was paid for it with money ; he went to upper Spain, and left behind in both places many proofs of his vanity and extravagance, of his ambition and avarice ; he achieved nothing to justify his pretensions to being a legate, and sailed back to Rome, hated by princes and peoples " [187].

A man, says Pastor himself [188], who thus flatters and upbraids at the same time, cannot lay claim to credibility ; and even Schmarso [189] calls his authority very suspicious, while Gregorovius [190] points out his contradictory duplicity.

Von Reumont, on the contrary [191], thinks himself obliged to quote Ammanati's slanders. Oldoinus [192] copies the charges of vanity and of display, and so does the Encyclopedia Britannica [193]. Bérault Bercastel, the author of a voluminous French History of the Church, which is of little authority [194], not only admits them all, but also invents another, namely, that the king of Castilla sent envoys to the Pope, to tell him of his country's indignation against the odious legate.

And yet, how untrue Ammanati's charges are, appears from the well established facts We have considered the first accusation already.

187. Card. Papiensis Litterae, p. 265.
188. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 418.
189. Ap. Pastor, ibid., s. 417, footn. 1.
190. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 234.
191. Archiv. Stor. Ital., vol. XVII, p. 323.
192. Ap. Ciaconium, Vitae Pontif. Roman., t. II, col. 991.
193. Art. Alexander VI.
194. T. 10, p. 444.

Cardinal de Borgia was not named a legate at his own request, but was designated and approved by the Sacred College.

To refute the imputation of gathering money in Valencia, of making his harvest all over Spain and of leaving evidences of avarice, it may be sufficient to state that it was one of his duties to gather means for the papal fleet, that he gave a detailed report and account of all sums of money received on any occasion during the time of his legation, and paid them over to the Pontiff, " re ipsa ", or applied them, with his approbation, to the settlement of his meager, stipulated salaries [195]. He, no doubt, lost money on this mission.

His vanity and the showing of himself were, in a former letter of the cardinal of Pavia, indicated under the term of honors bestowed on him more than on the other legates. But was it not his duty to accept, when travelling as a representative of the Sovereign Pontiff, the magnificent demonstrations with which he was welcomed everywhere ?

Ammanati had, undoubtedly, some ground for his blame of the legate's so-called extravagance and display. We know that he was accompanied in Spain by a splendid and numerous retinue, and that, in spite of his simplicity at home, he always exhibited magnificence, whenever he was acting in official capacities, or was to meet temporal princes. He well knew that holy exterior humility was no introduction to the lordly, though penniless, kings of the time. The saintly Bessarion, at whose failure, as a legate, Ammanati sneers, sadly experienced this in France.

What act of ambition Ammanati found to condemn in legate de Borgia we cannot imagine. Did he perhaps call it arrogance on his part, to have in his laudable zeal, convened the national council of Segorve ?

195. See Document 78.

We will let Ammanati himself refute, with his letter of the 27th of April, 1473, the intimated charge of inaction and uselessness.

The legate returned to Rome with the hatred of the Spanish princes and of their people, the cardinal of Pavia says. But was not the very contrary the truth ? The contemporary historians of Spain report no sign of dissatisfaction of any king, but they tell us that, even in the last days of his legation, he was received well and highly honored by princess Isabella, the archbishop of Toledo, the marquis of Santillana and the magistrates of his native Xativa. We have also noticed how, even afterwards, he continued to be the acceptable and confidential agent between the courts of Spain and of Rome.

Of any immorality or levity in Roderic de Borgia's conduct, during his mission in Spain, there is not a word from the spiteful Ammanati, nor from any decent historian. Yet, Gordon [196] and Bower [197] assert that " instead of attending to the affairs for which he was sent, he spent the most of his time with the ladies " of the court of Portugal, although we found no trace of the cardinal having ever been there. Since these writers are known to be unreliable, we looked for an authority upon which they may have based their scandalous calumny ; and, lo ! we found them to have stooped to copying the stupid unhistoric manuscript of the original anonymous slanderer of pope Alexander VI [198]. We considered this fact as making unnecessary any further refutation.

The Pontiff and the Sacred College had imposed a hard and expensive task on cardinal de Borgia, in sending him to

196. Alexander VI, t. I, p. 14.
197. The History of the Popes, vol. 3, p. 260.
198. Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Eman. Ms. Jesuitici, no. 1558.

Spain ; but, hardly had he left Rome, when, on the 30th of May, 1472, pope Sixtus IV, to further assist him in bearing the expenses, gave him the commendam of the abbey of St. Milian de la Cogolla of the Benedictine Order of Cluny, in the diocese of Calahorra, bringing a yearly revenue of a thousand florins in gold [199]. Two days after. on the 1st of June, he ordered the archbishop of Antivari to invest, in his name, the legate of Spain, with the temporal and spiritual administration of that monastery, and to secure to him the obedience and respect of its friars and the contributions of its vassals [200]. Pope Sixtus IV had, from the beginning of his reign reserved to himself the disposal of all monasteries with revenues of more than two hundred gold florins ; but the community of St. Milian had overlooked the papal reservation and elected an abbot. On the 13th of December, 1472, the Pontiff was obliged to cancel the election ; and ordered, under the most severe censures, that Roderic de Borgia or his agent should, within six days after the present notification, be admitted by all as the legitimate commendatory abbot [201].

While the legate was at work in Spain, the Pontiff remembered him in Rome, and, on the 28th of September, 1472, conferred upon him the archdeanery of Saragossa, worth six hundred and fifty pound small tournois, under the obligation, however, of paying a pension of three hundred, due to another ecclesiastic [202].

His services were often rewarded during the following years. On the 23d of May, 1474, he received, with the

199. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Bullar., lib. II, t. VII, Regest. 552, f° 295.

200. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Bullar., lib. V, t. X, Regest. 555, f° 248.

201. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Bull., Div., an. I, II, III, t. I, Regest. 660, f° 432.

202. Ibid., Sixti IV. Bullar., lib. VII, t. XII, Regest. 557, f° 214.

consent of the bishop-elect, a gratuitous pension of five hundred gold ducats on the episcopal revenues of Messina [203].

He was allowed, on the 3d of the next following month of November, to exchange a dozen or more small benefices in Spain, for a yearly pension of two hundred and seventy gold ducats from them [204]; but the barter did not end the cardinal's former difficulties in collecting the revenues, for neither the pension was duly paid. He was finally obliged to request the assistance of the Pope, who, on the 6th of March, 1478, threatened, even with the penalties against heretics, the defrauders and their accomplices [205].

The very multiplicity of benefices and pensions with which five successive Popes have manifested their appreciation and esteem of Roderic de Borgia has, at times, when we were perusing the original records, rendered us neglectful in jotting down the data relating to each; or even caused us to omit altogether a score of them or more; but it must be about the year 1474 that cardinal de Borgia also resigned a canonry and the archdeanery of Valpuesta in the metropolitan church of Burgos, and obtained from the one benefice a pension of three hundred and fifty, and one of hundred, pound small tournois from the other [206].

He was about this same time favored with other benefices in the diocese of Seville and with a pension of five hundred gold florins from the income of the archbishop of this metropolis [207].

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203. Ibid., Sixti IV. Bullar., lib. XIII, t. XVIII, Regest. 563, fo 120vo.

204. Ibid., Bullar. Lib. XXVIII, Regest. 578, fo 303vo.

205. Ibid., Regest., 585, fo 63.

206. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Bull., an. I, t. II, Regest. 773, fo 260.

207. Ibid., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. I, t. I, Regest. 772, fo 2XXII or CCXII; and Ibid., t. II, Regest. 773, fo 15vo.

ARTICLE VII. — CARDINAL DE BORGIA PROMOTED AND MADE LEGATE OF NAPLES.

On his return from Spain, the cardinal resumed his duties and arduous routine work at the Roman chancery, till sad circumstances forced him to take an unusual, and protracted vacation. The Tiber had inundated Rome in January, 1476. In March a plague broke out in the city, and, under the summer heat, became in the beginning of May, so violent, that it was almost impossible to live there, and the people fled in great numbers. Pope Sixtus IV also left the Vatican, on the 10th of June, for the higher and cooler altitude of Viterbo. He had chosen to accompany him the cardinals d'Estouteville, Caraffa, Nardini, Gonzaga, Michiel and de Borgia.

The illustrious fugitives went away from the dangerous city over the main road of the Northern Patrimony, made a short stay in the town of Campagnano, whence they proceeded to Vetralla, rested here again, and continued their route to Viterbo, where they arrived towards the end of the month. Pastor [208] evidently mistakes in sending them directly to Viterbo, and then making them retrace their steps two-thirds of the way, to Campagnano, back towards the dreaded Rome, and after that, northwards again to Vetralla, close to the city of Viterbo, which they had found to be unsafe, according to a letter of the 8th of July, written from the neighboring town of Amelia and stating that the plague had recently made a few victims in Viterbo, Spoleto and Todi. Avoiding these infected places, the Pontiff, with his companions, went higher up into the mountains, first to the town of Amelia and then to Narni, where he was on the 26th of July, as we shall notice presently. From Narni, he travelled farther up and away from Rome to the episcopal city of

208. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, | s. 464.

Foligno, and resided here in safety and relative comfort for quite a length of time. On the 12th of August pope Sixtus IV was on a visit to Assisi, and inspected the relics of St. Francis and of St. Clara ; but, as the plague made its appearance here also, he soon returned to Foligno, where he was tarrying till the 7th of October, when he commenced his return journey to Rome. He passed only one night in Spoleto, but, as the pest was very slowly abating, he made so many other stops, that he and his suite did not enter the pontifical city before the 23d of October, 1476 [209].

While staying in Narni, the Pontiff, informed of the demise of the cardinal-bishop of Porto, promoted two of his travelling companions : Cardinal de Borgia was advanced from the diocese of Albano to the vacant one of Porto, on the 24th of July, 1476 [210] and Cardinal Caraffa to that of Albano. Porto or Portus Romanus was the See of the Dean of the Sacred College. The diocese of Santa Rufina or Selva Candida was united with it, and its yearly revenue amounted to one thousand florins [211].

Clément de Vébron [212] wrongly asserts that, in consequence of this nomination, Roderic de Borgia was bishop of Porto and commendatory of Valencia and several other dioceses, among which he mentions that of Agria, that is, of Erlau in Hungary, which he had not received yet at that time. The bull, however, plainly states that he remained the Ordinary, the titular bishop of Valencia, thus continuing to be the regular bishop of two dioceses, keeping all his former administrations and benefices.

Moreover, in a bull of the 7th of November, 1479, it is

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209. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 464 and footn. 6, s. 465 and footn. 1, 2, 3, 4 ; Map of Italy.

210. Gams, Series Episc. f° XXIII.

211. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds Latin, Cod. 12554 : Memorabilia Rerum Consistorial, f° 1 ; Torrigio, Sacre Grotte, p. 290.

212. Les Borgia, p. 133.

stated that his transfer to Porto did not invalidate his expectatives of various benefices in the cathedrals of Seville, Toledo, Burgos and Çuença, worth a thousand pound of small tournois [213].

Clément [214] further mistakes by assigning this promotion to the year 1479 ; while Gams [215] and Chevalier [216] are but slightly incorrect, in giving the 24th of July 1476, as the date of the appointment, which, in reality, took place on the 26th of that month. The bull of cardinal de Borgia's nomination as bishop of Porto was issued from Narni on this latter date, " septimo kl. Augusti, pontˢ nri. anno quinto ".

The Pontiff, besides giving to cardinal de Borgia the praises customary on such occasions, remarks that he had in a laudable manner presided over the dioceses heretofore confided to his care, and wishes him that the fame of his excellent achievements and the splendor of his eminent virtues may be more widely diffused through his further praiseworthy deeds [217].

Shortly thereafter, on the 13th of August, pope Sixtus IV rendered him another service, by securing to him the possession of the abbey of Valdegna, as we noticed before.

As other cardinals had been sent to other Catholic countries, so had cardinal Oliverius Caraffa been dispatched, as a legate " de latere ", to the kingdom of Naples, in the year 1472, to prepare means of resistance to the invading Mohammedans ; but the results of his mission were very unsatisfactory. Yet, as the danger was greatest in the southern parts of Italy and still growing, the Pontiff was anxious to secure the assistance of the king of Naples and of his subjects, to repel or even to prevent the further incursions

213. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Bullar., lib. XLIV, Regest. 594, fo 39vo.
214. Ibid.
215. Series Episcoporum, p. XXIII.
216. Répertoire, p. 74.
217. See Document 79.

of the sanguinary Turks. The King's marriage with his cousin, Johanna of Aragon, offered to the Pope an occasion of sending another legate into the kingdom of Naples. He chose, on the 7th of August, 1477, with the approval of the Sacred College, as his plenipotentiary envoy, cardinal de Borgia ; although he regretted to be, for the while, deprived of his presence, most useful in the direction of affairs generally. He had placed his confidence of success in the cardinal's habitual prudence, integrity, carefulness and gravity of morals, as he states it [218].

Let us remark, in passing by, that, should Cesar de Borgia, besides brothers and sisters born shortly before this time, have been a son of the cardinal-bishop of Porto, then the laudatory expression of pope Sixtus IV would have been bitter irony, unbecoming a Supreme Pontiff, especially when confiding honorable charges to its victim [219].

The official object of this mission was to bless, in the Pontiff's name, the marriage recently contracted between king Ferdinand I and his cousin, Johanna of Aragon ; and to anoint the bride and crown her, with a royal crown blessed by pope Sixtus IV himself, as Catholic queen of the kingdom of Naples. The legate should, after the Holy Mass, which he was to celebrate on the occasion, impart to all present the papal benediction together with a plenary indulgence, in order to render them all more devoted to God and to the Holy See [220].

By a third bull of the same 7th of August, 1477, the Pope, to make his legate better welcome, granted him all the special faculties which he had enjoyed during his legation in Spain,

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218. " Solitis prudentia integritate solicitudine et morum gravitate tuis ".

219. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Legationes, an. 4 ad 8, t. I, Regest. 679, f° 102.

220. Ibid., f° 103.

with power to make use of them in favor of all persons that might, from any parts, apply to him [221].

Besides the principal duties of this legation, there was another of no mean importance, with which the cardinal was charged. There was, namely, scarcity of bread in the city of Rome at the time. The Pope had commissioned his legate to obtain from king Ferdinand permission to import wheat from his kingdom, and wrote to the King himself, that such a request would be made because of the increasing need. Cardinal de Borgia was happy to inform the Pontiff of the King's favorable disposition ; but no wheat was unloaded in Rome. The Pope rejoined to his legate that he should press the matter, for fear that the City might suffer more and be reduced to a state of starvation. He wrote to the King again, and again to the cardinal, telling him to be active, so that the promised wheat might actually be delivered in Rome. When the legate had already left the royal court or was on the point of leaving, the Pontiff sent him a last dispatch, requiring that he should at once give positive information of the facts regarding the export of wheat from the kingdom of Naples. Finally, the viceroy wrote to the Pope, on the 18th of November, that he had given orders to transport the cereals to the City straightway, and the legate's secretary confirmed the good tiding. The Pontiff expressed his great satisfaction, but king Ferdinand was in the habit of fulfilling one promise by making another more positive. No wheat came in sight, food grew ever scarcer in Rome and the prices rose in such a manner that the Pope was obliged to exhaust his treasury and to contract heavy debts in order to keep his people alive [222].

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221. Ibid., f° 103vo.

222. The correspondence is recorded in Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. LIII, no. 18, not in chronological order but respectively on fiis 123, 119vo, 120, 142, 142vo and 121.

The cardinal legate had still another secondary task to perform. He was, indeed, ordered to execute two decrees of civil mercy given by the Pontiff. A certain Peter Arnold de la Vigneta, a Gasconian, had served a part of his penitentiary term, and pope Sixtus IV let him be set free, while a John Rainald de Columna, condemned to death, had his sentence commuted into imprisonment, and was to be given the former's cell in the jail kept by the " beloved son " Lelprat, probably in one of the papal cities of the kingdom [223].

That the cardinal acquitted himself of his duties well, on this legation also, appears from the fact that he was at once rewarded with more benefices. On the 11th of November, 1477, he received the deanery of the Talavera cathedral and a canonry in the one of Lisbon, worth a yearly two hundred and thirty pound small tournois [224].

On the following day, the cardinal resigned the newly, acquired benefices, accepting a pension of one hundred pound from them and the right of " regressus ", or of taking them back in case of future vacancy [225].

ARTICLE VIII. — CARDINAL DE BORGIA, GOVERNOR OF NEPI, ASCOLI AND CIVITA CASTELLANA.

We have just noticed how king Ferdinand of Naples caused a famine in Rome by his failure to deliver the oft-promised cereals. Towards the end of the year 1478, pope Sixtus IV justly complained of an empty treasury and the necessity of borrowing money, in consequence of the extraordinary expenses incurred in buying wheat on the coasts of various countries, and conveying it to Rome and distributing it over

223. Ibid., fo 124vo.
224. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Bullar., Lib. XXXVI, Regest. 586, f° 1.
225. Ibid., f° 4.

the City and the adjoining provinces [226]. He borrowed during that year twenty-five thousand gold ducats from cardinal d'Estouteville and pledged to him the rights and revenues of the castles of Frascati, Soriano, Gallese, Cervetri and of other localities [227].

He also called on cardinal de Borgia for some assistance, and received from him, as a loan, all that the latter could afford, namely, in two installments, the sum of fifteen thousand gold ducats. The papers of security were made out on the 23d of January, 1479. The Pontiff mortgaged to him the cities of Nepi and of Città Castellana in the Patrimony, and the castle of Anticoli in the Campagna, with all their territory and appurtenances, together with all their revenues and profits of every kind, also of the Tiber docks of Guliano and the taxes on salt sold by the wholesale in the territories of the abbey of Subiaco ; as well as the complete administration of those places with all of a vassal's powers, even that of the sword. The cardinal was to pay the ordinary expenses of government, and allowed to keep for himself the residue of all income, as part-payment of the money lent; and this profit had been calculated at one thousand and one hundred gold florins a year. A condition had, however, been added, that, namely, the cardinal was to spend, within four years, the sum of two thousand and five hundred florins in repairing and equipping for defense the fortresses within the fiefs ; and, on account of his expense over and above the loan, his term of possession was computed to last fifteen years, ten months and twenty-three days. This was about as long as he could be expected to live.

A mistake in the calculation was, moreover, discovered : the cardinal's revenues were to be paid in florins of seventy-two " baiochi ", while his loans had been made in florins

226. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 652, f° 219.

227. von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 283.

of seventy-eight. To equalize the difference, the Pontiff added another year to the lender's tenure. Pope Sixtus IV, finally, made a consideration of equity. Only a few days before, on January the 11th, 1479, he had renewed the college of the chancery Abbreviators, reducing their numbers of seventy-two, and the number of appointments by the vicechancellor to twenty-one ; thus causing to the latter an average yearly loss of more than a thousand and a hundred florins. The college of cardinals begged the Pope to make some compensation for this loss of their colleague, but the destitute Pontiff, unable to find any means to do so, resolved to grant him Nepi and the other cities for the whole of his lifetime. He did so all the more readily because, as he expressed it, " when considering the cardinal's constant devotion to the welfare of the Holy Roman Church, We are confident that whatever We may entrust to his care will be guarded for the greater good and honor of Ourselves and of the Church " [228].

This grant of pope Sixtus IV was confirmed by Innocent VIII, on the 14th of September, 1484 [229]. We may add here, for curiosity's sake, that Ranghiasci [230] reports how an ignorant archeologist has amused himself by inserting, in the second story of the Nepi castle, an inscription telling that " Roderigo Borgia Lenzol had been named governor of Nepi by his uncle, pope Calixtus III, in the year 1457 ". Gregorovius [231] has been deceived by this hoax.

Soon after taking possession of his fiefs, cardinal de Borgia commenced to expend the two thousand and five hundred florins, which he was obliged to lay out in repairing

228. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 652, f° 219. The document is an interesting example of bargains with a Pope, but too lengthy for copying.

229. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 682, f° 22.

230. Memorie Stor. di Nepi, cap. XX.

231. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 120.

the fortresses. He had found the one of Nepi to have become little better than a ruin ; and all that could be done was to build it anew on the old foundation. He erected the two powerful towers, that give to the stronghold its main features even to this day. The southern part consists of a broad round structure two tall stories high, and the northern end is a smaller and lower square tower ; the middle two-story portion of the historic edifice is now, almost entirely, fallen together into complete ruin.

The half-round bulwarks still bear traces of the cardinal's work of restoration. His cardinalitial escutcheon, chiseled in stone, adorns yet the northern wall of the square tower and, at half-height, the eastern face and the lower southern side of the circular building. It can also be distinguished, painted in colors, on the remnants of the once beautiful wonderwork of the ceilings [232].

As soon as the new governor, cardinal de Borgia, had made a preliminary survey of the work to be done in Nepi, he was aware of the insufficiency of two thousand and five hundred florins, to make the most necessary repairs ; and obtained, by special brief of the 18th of January, 1479, while the main instrument of the bargain was under preparation at the chancery, permission to advance another thousand ducats for the purpose [233]. In the beginning of the year 1483, the cardinal informed pope Sixtus IV that the moneys stipulated for the reparation of fortresses had been spent, but that the structures were not yet equipped for the defense of the cities, and far from being completed for the convenience of the defenders. He requested allowance to lend two thousand ducats more, and was, of course, granted his request, on the 11th day of March, 1483 [234]. The generous

232. De visu.

233. Archiv. Secret Vatic., Sixti IV. revia, an. 1482, Armar. 39, no. 15.

234. Ibid.

cardinal well knew that this further loan was, in reality a simple donation, for it was to be refunded from the profits that had already been secured to him for life ; and he had a good right to say, afterwards, that he paid not a few sums of money in restoring the fortress of Nepi [235].

Besides this expensive permission, the cardinal governor of Nepi received, a few days later, on the 28th of March, another kind of help for the work that he was doing. As it was his habit when entering upon a new office, he had carefully inquired into the properties and rights of the papal treasury in the city and district of Nepi, and had discovered that quite a number of houses adjoining the castle, with other properties and rents, had been alienated illegally. He and other credible persons reported this to the Pope, who authorized him to recover these church properties, and to exchange or sell them, and make use of them or their proceeds, according to his own judgment, for the greater strength of the castle or the beauty of the city [236].

We found no particulars of cardinal de Borgia's government of Nepi, but his administration must have been useful and mild, if we can judge from the fact that he was always obeyed and loved by the people, as he himself testified [237]. He reciprocated the love of his subjects, since he adds that he gave them many tokens of gratitude and good will [238]. So he did, for instance, at the beginning of the year 1486, when the communities of Nepi and of Città Castellana had disobeyed pope Innocent VIII, by not sending the provisions and the pioneers required for his army. The Pontiff wrote, on the 25th of February, a severe letter to the podestà or

235. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secreta, an. I ad XI, lib. V, Regest. 871, f° 54.

236. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV, Bullar., lib. LXVI, Regest. 616, f° 23vo.

237. Bibl. Vaticana, Ottoboniana, Cod. 2528, f° 97 ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secreta, an. I ad XI, lib. V, Regest. 871, f° 54.

238. Ibid.

mayor of Cività Castellana, saying that, were it not for the intercession of the cardinal vicechancellor, he would have imposed a heavy fine upon those cities [239].

The funds available for repairs were spent by restoring the fortress of Nepi, but the cardinal governor left a monument of a different kind in the other city of his jurisdiction, Cività Castellana. Aware of how conducive to order and peace are a methodical exposition and consequent better acquaintance with laws and regulations, he made use of his knowledge of civil Law, to revise, co-ordinate and codify Cività Castellana's statutes and ordinances and their amendments. His lasting work is divided into six books. The first is entitled " Offici " and contains forty-one chapters defining the rights and duties of the city employees ; the second " Civili ", treats of civil matters in fifty-four chapters ; the third, " Malefici ", disposes, in eighty-one chapters, of all criminal affairs ; the fourth, named " Danno dato ", fills fifty-nine chapters with the rules of restoring damages done ; the fifth book, " De extraordinariis ", contains one hundred and two chapters, regulating unusual events and occasions ; finally, the sixth, titled " De reformanze ", reports all later regulations and amendments.

This digest was printed in Rome, in the year 1566, by order of the grand council of Cività Castellana [240].

That cardinal de Borgia kept an eye upon the observance of the ordinances which he had compiled, and thus promo-

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239. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Innoc. VIII. Brevia, an. 1485, 1486, Armar. XXXIX, vol. 19, f° 208vo.

240. Archivio Communale di Cività Castellana, " Statuta Civitatis Castellanae Praelio data in Roma l'Anno MDLXVI, Proemio... Questi sone i statuti leggi ordinazioni e reformanze della praenominata Communita e populo della città di Cività Castellana revisti ordinati e nel presente volume digesti e fatti imprimere con voler del speciale e generalissimo conseglio di essa città dagli magnifici signori conservadori della praedetta communita... Sedendo Sisto (felice ricordatione) Papa IIII et Roderico de Borgia (Bona memoria) detta città governando...).

ted the people's peace and welfare and won their affection, is evidenced by the following still preserved inscription. The ancient southern gate of Cività Castellana across the " Via Flaminia " is now a ruin, but its keystone is yet in place. This stone represents the escutcheon of cardinal Roderic de Borgia, and, under it, we read : " The people of Veio ", as the city was formerly called, " in honor of Roderic de Borgia, Nephew of the Sovereign Pontiff, Calixtus III, bishop of Porto, cardinal of Valencia, vicechancellor of the Holy Roman Church [241]. "

By one of his last administrative acts, on the 12th of July, 1492, cardinal de Borgia sends a good lieutenant-governor to his cities of Nepi and of Cività Castellana, and expresses his anxiety for the peace and happiness of these places [242].

On the cardinal's elevation to the papal throne, the two cities and the castle of Anticoli passed under his suzerainty and their governorship became vacant. On the 31st of August, 1492, pope Alexander VI confided the administration of Nepi and of Ascoli to cardinal Ascanio Sforza, one of his considerations being the cardinal's natural kindness and other qualities, that fitted him to govern, not only prudently but also gently, the places that he had always loved, because of their obedience [243].

Gregorovius [244] leaves his readers under the impression that, according to the communal archives of Nepi, pope Alexander VI seized the possession of that city from cardinal Sforza, who had deserted the papal court; and that he compelled his castellan to surrender the fortress, in order to donate the castle, city and territory to his daughter, as

241. Roderico Boriae Calisti III. Pont. Max. Nepoti. Epis. Port. Car. Valent. S. R. E. Vicecan. Vehientes.

242. See Document 80.

243. Bibl. Vatic., Ottoboniana, Cod. 2528, f° 97 ; and. Bibl. Corsiniana, Cod. 1045, f° 195.

244. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 120.

Gregorovius styles Lucretia de Borgia. Such is the misinterpretation of a brief preserved in those archives [245] and which is as follows : To our beloved sons, " prioribus ", the principal officers, and the community of our city of Nepi, Alexander VI Health etc. We send our Venerable brother, Francis, bishop of Tiano etc. to take possession of the city and castle of Nepi, which our beloved son, Ascanio etc., through his submission and reverence towards us and the Holy See, has consigned to us. Accord full credence to what he has to tell you in our name. Given in Rome on the 4th of September, 1499.

The sudden departure of cardinal Sforza on the 14th of July, 1499, on account of political disagreement, caused much annoyance to the Pontiff, whose confidence even in his highest officials was further impaired, when he saw the defection of one or two more cardinals, a few days later [246]. He felt obliged to rely more and more on his blood relations, and, on the 7th of the following month of October, he confided to his niece, Lucretia de Borgia, the government of Nepi, with full powers and the revenues of the office. He continued, however, to exercise his superior rights of a suzerain and to take a personal interest in the welfare of the people. Thus do we see him, on the 24th of April, 1500, allow the citizens of Nepi to carry arms, pursue, arrest and drive out the so-called Corsicans de la Macchia, bands of robbers and murderers infesting that neighborhood [247], and, on the 21st of the following month, he even ordered them, and all the cites of the Patrimony, under threat of penalty, to send out, for that purpose, thirty able, well-armed men, for the space of a whole month [248].

245. Libri de Brevis, f° 20.
246. Burchard, Diar. Vol. II, pp. 546, 547 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 423.
247. Among the documents of the communal archives of Nepi.
248. Archiv. Commun. di Nepi, Libri de Brevis, f° 21.

At his assumption to St. Peter's chair, pope Alexander VI restored Città Castellana to the immediate authority of the papal Camera, continuing, however, to pay special attention to its administration. The people elected their mayor but, as before, he exercised the right of his confirmation ; as, for instance, on the 30th of May, 1493 [249], and on July the 27th, 1500 [250]. He even, on an extraordinary occasion, namely, on the 8th of December, 1499, deposed the podestà in office, and ordered the people to elect one chosen by himself [251].

When, in the year 1497, the Pope heard of the disturbances and crimes committed in Città Castellana by armed malefactors, he sent forth a special commissary, who caused the criminals to compensate the damages done, and lay down their arms ; but, soon after, the Pontiff learned that arms had been taken up again and the disorders had recommenced. Thereupon he sent, on the 23d of December, 1497, a brief to the mayor and the executive board, commanding them, under penalty of one thousand gold florins and of incurring his indignation, to search for the criminals night and day, to confiscate all their property, and to arrest and forward them to the papal tribunal [252]. Yet, even this strong measure was only partially successful, and the Pope felt obliged to order, on the 25th of June, 1499, a superior officer to reside there and, with the help of the castellan and of the city authorities, to procure peace and security to the people [253], until he should have confided the full administration into the strong hands of Cesar de Borgia.

If not the best, still the most remarkable service rendered

249. Archiv. Commun. Civitatis Castellan., Consigli et Decreti 1492 ad 1495, at the date.

250. Ibid., Consigli 1499-1500, at the date.

251. Ibid., Consigli Secret. 1499-1500, at the date.

252. Ibid. Consigli 1496 ad 1498, at the date.

253. Archiv. Commun. di Città Castellana, Consigli Secret. 1499-1500, at the date.

by pope Alexander VI to Città Castellana was the erection of a new fortress. He built it in the year 1500, paying for the labor ; while a part, at least, of the raw material was furnished by the community. The city council deliberated, on the 3d of March, 1500, as their treasury was empty, on selling the timber, both green and dry, of their woods in the valley of Trevi near Foligno, to find the means of doing their share in the work of construction [254].

The castle consists of a large octagonal structure or tower, to which are added three projecting bastions, the whole being surrounded with a wide moat and a crenelated wall protecting an inner corridor. Large portions of the edifice have still the appearance of solidity, but the interior is in a state of ruin, although carved consoles under the beam ends, and faded armories, among other painted ornaments, testify still to the former beauty of its ceilings. Its arsenal was in the lower story, where there are left, until this day, quite a few remnants of its ammunition, in the shape of stone cannon balls of a diameter of about three inches.

The stone escutcheon of pope Alexander VI is still preserved on the frame of the small gate towards the North, and directly under the cornice of the Northwest corner, as also on each of the projecting bastions. To the left of, and close to, the main entrance, on the East side, there is, inserted into the wall, a large slab of marble, into which are chiseled the arms of the Pope, and on each side, in much smaller size, those of Cesar de Borgia : the Borgian ox in the right upper quarter, the bars of the Doms in the left lower, three French lilies forming an inverted triangle in the right lower quarter, and one lily in the left upper ; the church gonfalon surmounting the crossed keys between the two halves, and the whole crowned with a ducal crown. Below is the

254. Ibid. Consigli, Decreti | 1499-1500, at the date.

inscription : " This is the Lord's doing, and it is wonderful in our eyes " [255].

ARTICLE IX. — CARDINAL DE BORGIA DURING THE LAST YEARS OF SIXTUS IV.

Pope Sixtus IV not only gave security for the money that cardinal de Borgia lent to him in financial troubles, but also showed his gratitude by granting more favors and revenues, as occasion offered.

The cardinal had formerly received from him the deanery of the cathedral of Jaen, and had resigned it in favor of a friend, yet reserving the right of return to it in case of a new vacancy. When the incumbent afterwards also resigned, he allowed it again to another favorite, obtaining on the 24th of June 1481, a renewed right of " regressus ", thus keeping the benefice at his continuous disposal [256].

On the 22d of May, 1482, pope Sixtus IV accepted cardinal de Borgia's relinquishment of a pension of seven hundred gold ducats from the revenues of the Talavera diocese, and granted him an equivalent yearly allowance from the bishop of Coimbra [257].

We have noticed already that pope Paul II had freed, about the year 1469, the bishop of Viseo from paying to cardinal de Borgia a yearly five hundred florins. Afterwards, the same diocese owed to the cardinal another pension of three hundred gold ducats, which had not, however, been paid for several years, when the bishop died in A. D. 1482. Cardinal de Borgia profited by the occasion of his death to

255. A Domino Factum Est [Istud Et Est Mirabile in Oculis [Nostris. Ps. CXVII, 23.

256. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 626, f° 187vo.

257. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Bull. Lib. LXX, Regest. 620, f° 295.

claim his due, and, on the 8th of the month of July, pope Sixtus IV ordered the bishop of Talavera to collect all the episcopal revenues of the vacant diocese and to seize upon the estate of the venerable deceased, till the arrears should be fully discharged [258].

At the nomination of a new bishop of Seville, a yearly pension of five hundred gold florins was, on the 15th of January, 1483, imposed on his revenues, in favor of cardinal de Borgia, to help him meet the heavy burdens of expenses which he was continually obliged to make—most probably in finishing the castle of Nepi [259].

Cardinal de Borgia had inherited another dignity at the demise of cardinal d'Estouteville, on January 22d, 1483, and had become the Dean of the Sacred College [260].

He was also made the successor of the powerful French cardinal in a most important office. The military-religious Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which was for a long time the invincible bulwark of Christianity against the Turks, had, by the death of d'Estouteville, lost its counsellor and official protector at the Roman court. Jacob Bosio [261] assures us that the Grand Master, Peter d'Aubusson, and his council asked for cardinal de Borgia to be appointed Protector of their Order. The Pope answered, on the 1st of February, 1483, that, in his desire to preserve and increase the Order, he had named as its caretaker and protector, Roderic, the bishop of Porto, whom he had always found to be devoted to the Rhodians, and who was powerful in word and deed, and experienced in business of great consequence [262].

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258. Ibid., f° 202.
259. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 626, f° 32vo.
260. Ibid., Sixti IV. Brevia, an. 1482, 1483, t. II. Regest. Sixti IV, no. 15. Armar. 39, f° 351.
261. Dell' Istoria della Sacra Religione di S. Giovanni Gierosolimitano, vol. 2, p. 472.
262. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Brev. an 1482, 1483, t. II, Regest. Sixti IV, no. 15. Armarii 39, f° 351.

The Grand Master dispatched an embassy to thank the Pope for the welcome appointment, and the secretary reported to Rhodes that the envoys had gone to offer their respects to the Most Reverend Monsignor Vicechancellor, that the cardinal seemed to be much pleased, and offered his kind services to His Lordship and his religious Community ; and that he went with them for an audience with the Supreme Pontiff. The secretary was confident that Monsignor de Borgia would prove a good protector [263].

The cardinal showed his good will, in particular on the 4th of June, 1485, when he requested pope Innocent VIII to make a favorable settlement of a lawsuit in which a preceptory of the Order was engaged [264].

On the day of his coronation, August the 26th, 1492, pope Alexander VI named, as his successor, cardinal Antoniotto Pallavicini protector and defender of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem [265], of which he remained a steady benefactor, and he approved and confirmed all the rights and privileges, on the last day of June, 1494 [266].

Cardinal de Borgia obtained, on the 21st of February, 1483, in commendam, the church of St. Potentiana, the title church of a cardinal-priest, and, united with it, the archpresbytery, the principal dignity of the collegiate church of St. Mary Major in Rome, together with all its houses and rights [267].

This concession was particularly welcome, because St. Mary Major's was the grandest of Roman basilicas dedicated to the honor of the Mother of Christ, who, with her divine Son in the blessed Sacrament, was the principal object of Roderic de Borgia's lifelong devotion. He resolved at

263. Bosio, ubi supra, p. 473.
264. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Innoc. VIII. Bullar., an. I, lib. VIII, Regest. 705, f° 127vo.
265. Ibid. Alex. VI, Bullar. Divers., an. I, t. I, Regest. 879, f° 6.
266. Ibid., Regest. 784, f° 190. Regest. 627, f° 7.
267. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 627, f° 7.

once to use its revenues in beautifying the edifice and enhancing its religious solemnities. But, to succeed in his designs, he needed prebendaries and ministers that would practically second his efforts, and he manifested the wish of choosing himself, to that effect, the future beneficiaries of this collegiate church. Pope Sixtus IV answered his desire with a bull of the 25th of March, 1483, in which, after protesting his own love for the Blessed Virgin, he states that cardinal de Borgia had no less fervor of piety towards her, and would, therefore, ever provide her sanctuary with able and worthy men, to continue and increase her cult [268]. He finally granted him authority to bestow upon persons of his own choice all canonries, chaplaincies, benefices and ecclesiastical offices of St. Mary Major's, whenever they should become vacant, even though their bestowal should belong to the apostolic See, or they should have been promised to special individuals [269].

One of the first improvements made in St. Mary Major's was the introduction of a new class of ministers, to contribute to the decorum and beauty of divine service. The archpriest de Borgia selected a number of young clerics, like our modern altarboys, to decently serve in the choir and at the altar ; and, through a judicious innovation, he increased the melody and sweetness of the church music, by the introduction of their youthful voices into the singing. For this purpose, he instituted a school of music, the first or one of the first, for the junior secular clergy, and conducted by an able music teacher. The institution proved to be a great success and even attracted the foreign pilgrims to the divine services of St. Mary Major's basilica.

It is evident that this school entailed no trifling expenses. The teacher was to be salaried, and the pupils, who spent

268. Of hyperdulia.

269. See Document 81.

their time in learning or helping in the church, were to be supported and encouraged. There was no fear of financial deficiency, as long as cardinal de Borgia, who provided for all, would remain the archpriest ; but he himself well knew that he could not live forever. Anxious to place his school of music on a lasting foundation, he conceived a plan to secure for it a lasting support. He applied to the Pontiff and requested him to abolish, at their vacancy, one canonry with its prebend and one perpetual chaplaincy, at the choice of the archpriest ; and to order that all their revenues and emoluments should be distributed by the archpriest to the music teacher and to five, six or more young clerics of the school. In a bull of the 28th of April, 1489, pope Innocent VIII reports the salutary results of the innovation, mentions again the great affection and devotion which the cardinal had always had and now manifested more and more towards the glorious Virgin, and finally grants forever his petition, as it was submitted [270].

While conferring with the king of France about the nomination to the archdiocese of Rouen, pope Sixtus IV intended to impose a pension on it, in order to help the cardinal in the settlement of some certain affairs ; but, at the King's insistence, he consented, on the 15th of March, 1483, to grant it free of encumbrance to the candidate of His Majesty, yet with the expressed expectation that the King should favor cardinal de Borgia on other occasions [271].

On the last day of the following month, cardinal de Borgia resigned the administration of the Cistercian abbey de Ripalta in the diocese of Civita Ducale, and obtained, instead, a yearly pension from it of six hundred and sixty-seven gold

270. See Document 82.
271. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Brevia, t. 15. Armarii 39.

florins, together with the right of reoccupying the monastery, should the incumbent fail to pay [272].

The cardinal had formerly relinquished the so-called abbey of Hermedes, a dignity in the cathedral of Palencia, reserving the right of regress at the next vacancy. He resumed the benefice, on October the 14th, 1483, when the Pope united a canonry to it [273].

Towards the end of the year pope Sixtus IV took a few days of recreation, in visiting the nearest seacoast dioceses, Ostia and Porto. On the 9th day of November, 1483, a Sunday, the Pontiff assisted at the Holy Mass which I celebrated, says Jacob of Volterra [274], and then went to the church of St. Paul, accompanied by only three cardinals: his nephews, Giuliano della Rovere, bishop of Ostia, and Ieronimo Basso della Rovere, bishop of Recanati, and Roderic de Borgia, bishop of Porto, and by a few domestic prelates. They boarded the vessel of state that lay in waiting at the adjoining river bank, and sailed with a favorable tide down to Ostia, where the cardinal of St. Peter's had given proof of his daily munificence and liberality, by preparing for the reception not only with sufficiency, but also with elegance and plenty.

The Pontiff remained in Ostia the whole of the following Monday. For the next day, Tuesday, he had been invited by the Vicechancellor to dine at the episcopal palace in Porto. The banquet was more than royal, nothing that could be thought of was missing; for the cardinal is as munificent as he is rich. After the repast, the Pope and the cardinals enjoyed themselves, wandering to the seashore near by and discussing about its ruins. Then they boarded

272. Ibid., Sixti IV. Bull. Lib. LXXIX, Regest. 629, f° 317vo.

273. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 636, f° 282.

274. Diarii della Corte di Roma, Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Cod. Ms. 987, f° 200.

a vessel and coasted back to Ostia. The Pontiff was in a splendid mood and put the whole company in good humor.

The next following day, Wednesday, after dinner, we returned to Rome on the same bucentaur and landed at night at the place where we first embarked. Thus Jacob of Volaterra. This excursion is one of the last indications of the high esteem and friendship which existed between pope Sixtus IV and cardinal de Borgia.

The Pontiff granted his last favor to his loyal vicechancellor when, on the 30th of March, 1484, he assigned to him a yearly pension upon the archdeanery of Davoca in the metropolitan church of Saragossa, the further possession of which the cardinal resigned [275].

Death put an end to the friendly relations between the Pontiff and his useful assistant, Roderic de Borgia. Pope Sixtus IV commenced, under the pressure of political complications to lose his strength already in the month of March; in June, fever set in and, at the beginning of August, he prepared for death by Holy confession and communion, and departed peacefully on the 12th of this month, 1484. He had been first an exemplary Franciscan friar, then a respected cardinal, and at last a pious and active pontiff, who corrected many abuses and often manifested his anxiety for a general reform of the Church [276].

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275. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 643, f° 68.

276. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, Buch XI.

CHAPTER VIII.

Cardinal de Borgia under Innocent VIII.

The nine days' solemn funeral of pope Sixtus IV commenced in St. Peter's basilica, on Tuesday, the 17th of August, 1484. Cardinal de Borgia, dean of the Sacred College, sang the first public requiem, and other cardinals celebrated on the eight following days[1].

The days of a Pope's funeral always were days of activity and enterprise for political agents in Rome. This time they brought forward a number of candidates for the new tiara, and wrote of each one such information, either probable or supposed, as they knew would interest and please the princes their masters.

The cardinals most likely to be elected were Marcus Barbo, a grave and good man, but a Venetian, and Roderic de Borgia. The Florentines were afraid that the latter might be promoted ; and it was, consequently, their envoy's duty to belittle him and allay their fears. Guidantonio Vespucci, faithful to his position, wrote to Laurent de' Medici, on the 21st of August, 1484, that the vicechancellor was attempting simony, by promising money, offices and his palace to secure votes ; but, he added, he is so haughty and faithless, that there is no need of fearing that he be elected [2].

It is noteworthy that he did not accuse him of immorality, although he thinks, in the same dispatch, that the cardinal from Novara has no chance of election, because he had a legitimate son.

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1. Burchard, Diar., t. I, p. 15. | 2. Burch., Diar., t. I, p. 507.

Pastor [3] endeavors to justify Vespucci's latter charge, by saying that cardinal de Borgia had been the partisan of the Colonna, and had now gone over to their antagonists, the Orsini, in order to have their assistance in the conclave. It is, however, a fact that the Vicechancellor was one with pope Sixtus IV in his late war against the Colonna, and accepted, as administrator abbot of Subiaco, a portion of the territories confiscated from these rebellious nobles.

It seems that Roderic de Borgia was not a " persona grata ", an acceptable candidate with the Este of Ferrara nor in the city of Siena, if we can judge from the tone of their envoys, who put on him also the blame of electioneering for himself on this occasion ; but, in spite of Pastor [4] there is but one reporter who speaks of simony. Nor was the slander of difficult invention, since it was a custom for newly elected Popes to distribute among the members of the Sacred College their dwelling and most of the offices and benefices made vacant through their assumption to the supreme pontificate. So also did pope Innocent VIII, a few days after, as we learn from the same Guidantonio Vespucci [5].

Burchard, the leader of the conclave officials, better informed than the outside reporters of Italian princes and more independent, has only to relate what he heard and saw of cardinal de Borgia's trying to win votes. Immediately before the first scrutiny, " the Most Reverend lords, the Vicechancellor, the cardinal of Milan and the cardinal of Siena, respectively the priors of the cardinal bishops, priests and deacons, went to the small table placed before the altar, and sat on the three benches behind it, facing the other cardinals. They and all the cardinals in their places were sitting in silence. Then the Most Reverend lord vice-

3. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 172.

4. Ubi supra.

5. Burch., Diar., t. I, p. 516.

chancellor, in a few words, exhorted the cardinals to let each one, while they were assembled for the election of a Sovereign Pontiff, make up his mind to vote for the best fitted, according to the dictates of his own conscience "[6]. In a manuscript report of several conclaves it is equally remarked that, at the one of pope Innocent VIII, " all the cardinals listened in silence to their dean exhorting them to choose for Pope a good man fit to govern the Holy Church "[7].

At the first ballotting, Cardinal Barbo received the highest number of votes cast, namely, then of the twenty-five[8]; cardinal de Borgia had several and Giuliano della Rovere, half a dozen; the other ballots were scattering. Neither cardinal de Borgia nor della Rovere could obtain the required majority, as long as their friends should remain divided, while both and several others disliked cardinal Barbo, whose native city, moreover, had, a few days before, wrung from the Italian league the humiliating treaty of Bagnolo.

As it had been decided, already before the scrutiny, not to resort this day to an election by " access, " the cardinals had, after dinner, many private interviews and conferences among themselves, in which cardinals de Borgia and della Rovere united upon a good cardinal, beloved by all that knew him, John Baptist Cibò, cardinal of St. Cecilia and bishop of Molfetta. Both worked hard among their adherents and best acquaintances; and, late at night, they had secured, for their common candidate, the promises of all the votes necessary for his election. The unanimous scrutiny of the next morning was but a legal formality. Nearly all historians, the older especially, like Onuphrius[9] and Panvinius[10], credit the election of the new Pontiff, who took the name of Innocent VIII, on the 29th of August, 1484, to the

6. Burchard, Diar., t. I, p. 55.
7. Rome, Bibl. Corsiniana, Cod. 752, f° 34.
8. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 57.
9. In Innocentium VIII.
10. Vita Innocentii VIII, p. 334.

influence of cardinals de Borgia and della Rovere on their colleagues in the conclave.

Thuasne blots his publication of Burchard's Diary, when, to correct its author, he adds a footnote saying that the Vicechancellor, seeing the impossibility of being elected, sold his vote to the cardinal of Melfe (sic). Thuasne bases his calumny on a dispatch of the Florentine envoy, Vespucci; but Vespucci wrote nothing of the kind at the place indicated, nor anywhere else [11]. If either one or the other, cardinal de Borgia should have been here a buyer rather than a seller. Indeed, Infessura [12] plainly asserts, although from behind the shield of " they say ", that the election of pope Innocent VIII was simoniacal and managed by Giuliano della Rovere and Rodrigo Borgia. He names eight cardinals, among whom della Rovere, as having received valuable compensations " pro habendis vocibus ", for their votes ; but of cardinal de Borgia he has nothing to say [13]. To be just towards the untruthful diarist, we must notice before going further, that Infessura himself here revokes his calumny. On the next page he writes : All this has been said, but, since it has been found not to be altogether true, we must believe that it was said from envy [14].

Like Infessura, so neither Thuasne nor Vespucci report any concession of pope Innocent VIII, which they might interpret as a payment for the vicechancellor's vote. Yet, the cardinal was not overlooked in the distribution that, according to custom, the new Pontiff made of his own former dignities and offices and of other disposable benefices and

11. Burchard, Diar., t. I, p. 56, footn. 1.

12. To whom Pastor refers on this occasion : Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 173, n. 4.

13. Rome, Bibl. Valicellana : Diarium Stephani Infessurae, Cod. I, 74, f° 82.

14. Ibid., f° 82vo. Sed hec nunc dicta fuerunt, que cum non fuerint reperta omnino vera, credendum est ea dicta fuisse propter invidiam.

revenues [15], some of which are mentioned by the Florentine ambassador [16].

On the very day of his coronation, September the 12th, 1484, pope Innocent VIII granted to cardinal de Borgia the administration of the Cistercian monastery of St. Benedict beyond the walls of Valencia, together with a yearly income of three hundred gold florins. The Pope's motives were not only the cardinal's merits, but also, as he expresses it, the fact that, although holding the dignified position of a cardinal, he had not the means to carry the burden of expenses which he was constantly obliged to make [17].

Two days later, the Pontiff confirmed a number of favors granted by his predecessors to cardinal de Borgia, praising his former colleague as excelling all other cardinals by his prominent virtues and his constant and careful labors to help the Supreme Pontiff in the defense and government of the whole Church [18].

On the same date pope Innocent VIII gave him authority to dispose of all the benefices of the dioceses of Porto, Valencia and Carthagena and of those which he might obtain afterwards ; likewise of the benefices of his cardinalitial title churches and of the monasteries under his administration [19].

The cardinal's power and responsibility, his duties and income were further increased on the 18th of the same month, when he was appointed lord and governor of the city of Suriano. The Pontiff, as he states in the commission, had

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15. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 682 : Inn. VIII, Secret. an. I, II, III, t. I.

16. Burch., Diar., t. I, p. 516. Prof. Theod. Hagen (Die Papstwahlen von 1484 und 1492, s. 8, fl.), who has no idea of the usual and unavoidable distribution of such benefices, accuses, in his simplicity, pope Innocent VIII of granting, through simony, " bestochenen Wählern ", the benefices of which he gives the list.

17. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Inn. VIII. Bullar., an. I, lib. X, Regest 707, f° 213vo.

18. Ibid., Innoc. VIII, Secret. an. I, II, III, t. I, Regest. 682, f° 1.

19. Ibid., f° XIX.

personal knowledge of the cardinal's integrity and long experience in the management of affairs ; he had seen him, since pope Calixtus III had created him a cardinal, working diligently, for twenty-seven years already, assisting in the government of the universal Church and still continuing to do so ; he felt assured of the care he would bestow on the administration of the people, and on the maintenance, repairs and equipment of the buildings confided to him. For these reasons he now gave him, for his lifetime, the city of Suriano, its castle and territory ; with all the authority, rights and revenues of a lord and absolute governor, free from the supervision of any official in the province of the Patrimony. A condition, however, of this donation was the cardinal's duty to spend, within five years, not less than two thousand gold florins in repairing, fortifying and providing the castle of Soriano with ammunition for defense [20].

To give the reader a better idea of the manners of the Italian people of that time and to show how a man of experience was truly needed to govern Suriano, we here insert the account of an incident which took place in the beginning of the year 1491, during cardinal de Borgia's administration : " Innocent etc... There was lately placed before us a petition in behalf of our beloved son William Raymund de Contelles, a cleric of Valencia, which stated that he and our beloved son, Gaspar de Pertusa, also a cleric of Valencia, were, in the name of our venerable brother, Roderic, bishop of Porto and Vicechancellor of the Holy Roman Church, the custodians of the fortress of Suriano, in the diocese of Orte. On a certain day, men of the town of Julianelli, of the same diocese, were driving away by force some castle belonging to people of said Suriano, and

20. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., | Inn. VIII. Secret., an. I, II, III, t. I, Regest. 682, f° 31.

these people hastened to the above mentioned William and Gaspar, who were in the castle, ignorant of what was taking place. They shouted that their animals were being driven off by their enemies, and requested not to be obliged to follow unarmed their stolen property, but that weapons should be given them. William and Gaspar, to avoid a conflict, sent out some officials of Suriano and others, who should restore peace among them ; but, as they could not come to an understanding, both parties came to a fight. A rumor arose in Suriano that many of their men had been killed. The said William and Gaspar, moved with pity at the wails of the women and old men of Suriano, who had also come to the fortress, ordered the castle bell to be rung and gave to the men divers sorts of arms ; not, however, with the intention of letting them kill anybody, but to let them protect themselves. The petition further related that, since six or seven men of Suriano had actually been slain in the strife, We are humbly requested, in William's behalf, to pardon his act and dispense him from the irregularity thereby contracted..... ". The Pope granted the request on the 11th of April, 1491 [21].

On the 27th of January, 1485, pope Innocent VIII bestowed on cardinal de Borgia a yearly pension of three hundred gold ducats payable by the diocese of Silva, " Silven. " [22].

From a bull of the 26th of August, 1485, we learn that the cardinal had been named, shortly before, bishop of Seville ; but, before taking possession of this diocese, he resigned it of his own free will, and pope Innocent VIII, thereupon, bestowed it on Didacus de Mendoza [23]. Another contemporary record reports that the cardinal gave up this

21. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Inn. VIII. Bullar., an. VII, lib. LVII, Regest. 754, f° 79.
22. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Inn. VIII, Bull., an. I, lib. IX, Regest. 706, f° 148.
23. Ibid., Inn. VIII, Bull., an. I, Lib. X, Regest. 707, f° 177vo.

episcopal see in deference to the wishes of Queen Isabella, who was under obligations to the house of Mendoza. Indeed, the Pope himself wrote to the Queen of Castilla that, as soon as Roderic, bishop of Porto and vicechancellor of the Holy Roman Church, had heard from Franciscus de... of her wishes in regard to the diocese of Seville, he had at once, without a moment's delay, resigned that diocese, and asked him to dispose of it anew to some able and worthy person, according to her desire. He added that it would now be his own and her duty to compensate the cardinal for his magnanimous disinterestedness [24]. Gams [25] is, therefore, incorrect when saying that Roderic de Borgia was refused, " recusatur ", as bishop of Seville.

Towards the end of this year, cardinal de Borgia suffered a disturbance of his robust health. He informed the Pontiff of it and asked him the favor of being attended by his physician. He received the following answer on the 30th of October, 1485 : Our venerable brother, etc. From the letter of Your Eminence we have learned of your indisposition, at which we feel very much grieved ; but as we understand from your writing and from a report made to us, we trust that it will be of little consequence and soon pass away. And since you ask us to send to you our private physician, our venerable brother the bishop of Capace, although his presence is very useful to us ; yet, to give you satisfaction, and to grant the wishes of the bishop himself, who has urgently requested our permission, we send him to you, and we exhort Your Eminence to put aside all other occupation, to apply yourself to the recuperation of your health, and to send back the said bishop to us as soon as possible.

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24. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. LIII, no. 18, f° 161.

25. Series Episc., p. 73.

And if there is anything else by which we can accommodate you, we will do so with the greatest pleasure. Given the 30th of October, 1485 [26].

We suppose that the cardinal was soon able to resume his labors. On the 18th of January, 1486, he attended to some personal business, exchanging a pension of seven hundred gold ducats from the diocese of Coimbra, for another of the same amount from the episcopal see of Talavera [27].

A few days after, his pension from the diocese of Silva was doubled by another grant of three hundred ducats, on the 27th of January, 1486 [28].

The Pontiff had made him a parish priest of Cabanier in the diocese of Tortosa, but he was never installed, and resigned the position, on the 30th of the same month of January [29].

The finances of cardinal de Borgia seem to have been about this time at a very low ebb, for we see that the Pope came to his assistance by bestowing upon him all kinds of benefices, and allowing him a means of temporary relief, which, however, caused him a financial loss in the near future. He, namely, gave him, on the 11th of March, 1486, permission to lease all his revenues for a term of three years, at necessarily discounted sums of money payable at once [30].

On the same day he bestowed upon him a religious-military office, the preceptory of St. Anthony outside the walls of Naples [31].

A fortnight later, on the 27th, the cardinal obtained several canonries and prebends, to wit : a canonry in the cathedral

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26. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Inn. VIII. Brev., an. 1485, 1486, t. II. Armar. XXXIX, vol. 19, f° 34.

27. Ibid., Inn. VIII. Bullar., an. I, II, lib. XIV, Regest. 711, f° 180.

28. Ibid., Inn. VIII, Bullar., an. IV, V, lib. 41, Regest. 738, f° 225vo.

29. Ibid., Inn. VIII. Bullar., an. I, II, III, lib. XXII, Regest. 719, f° 337.

30. Ibid., Inn. VIII, Secret., an. I, II, III,t. I, Regest. 682, f° 189vo.

31. Ibid., f° 214.

of Burgos, bringing a yearly income of sixty pound small tournois ; a secular abbey in the same church and worth the same amount ; the canonry of Villadiego, worth forty ; the canonry of Villamenon, worth ten ; the one of Terminon, worth eight ; the one of Salimlas, worth fifteen ; besides several other benefices with aggregate revenues of eighty pound small tournois [32].

The vicechancellor could not, in spite of his prominent position, be lavish of money with the members of his household or court, but the Pontiff granted him, on the 12th of April, " a declaration ", according to which he could otherwise be more beneficial to them [33].

Nor did the cardinal disdain the reservation of, or right of succession to, several benefices in various dioceses granted to him at the same time [34].

When, on the 24th of that month, pope Innocent VIII reserved still more benefices for him, he added a word of explanation of cardinal de Borgia's financial condition ; mentioning not only, as usually, his unavoidable daily expenses, but also the several pensions which he was obliged to pay to other cardinals, from the revenues of his see of Carthagena and of other benefices [35]. We know that he was paying every year a pension of five thousand gold ducats to the archbishop of Saragossa.

He obtained quite a timely relief when, on the 15th of May, 1485, pope Innocent VIII instituted the college of chancery collectors, of the lead-seal taxes, and allowed him the appointment to a dozen memberships, which were conferred on the payment of a stipulated sum of money [36].

The cardinal was also appointed as administrator of the priory of St. Mary de Nogera, of the order of Cluny, in the

32. Ibid., f° 250.
33. Ibid., f° 251.
34. Ibid., f° 245.
35. Ibid., f° 420.
36. Rome, Bibl. Barberin. Cod. XXXV, 94, f° 242.

diocese of Calahorra, but he resigned without taking possession of it. Then the Pontiff gave him, on the 9th of September, 1486, a pension of three hundred and fifty gold florins from the priory [37].

Cardinal de Borgia's finances were soon in better condition and allowed him again the practice of his liberality, if we can judge from transactions of the following year. On the 6th of February, 1487, pope Innocent VIII bestowed on him the archdeanery of Segorve ; but the cardinal obtained, on the same day, permission to transfer it to a member of his court, James Fielle, a canon of Urgel [38].

The Pope had also given him a canonry and prebend of the cathedral of Salamanca ; but, evidently at his request, allowed him, on the 22d of August, 1487, to give it away to any cleric of his choice [39].

On the 13th of June, 1487, cardinal de Borgia was appointed administrator of the Cistercian monastery of Bl. Mary of Bellfountain at Peterwardein, in the diocese of Bács, to which he had been presented by Mathias, king of Hungary [40]. On the 18th of April, 1488, pope Innocent VIII exempted the abbey, for the lifetime of the new administrator, from all authority of the bishop of Bács and even of all superiors of the religious Order, taking it under the protection of the Church of Rome and conferring full jurisdiction upon Roderic, his vicechancellor, over the monastery and its inmates, its dependent religious houses of either sex and its vassals [41].

Mathias, the king of Hungary, who had the patronal right of the institution, had consented to the appointment of the cardinal, who enjoyed peaceable possession until that king's

37. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Inn. VIII. Bullar., an. I, II, III, lib. X, Regest. 707, f° 42vo.

38. Ibid., Inn. VIII. Bullar., an. II, III, IV, lib. XXVIII, Regest. 725, f° 254.

39. Ibid., Bullar., an. I ad IV, lib. XXVII, Regest. 724, f° 107vo.

40. Ibid., Inn. VIII. Secret., an. I, II, III, t. I, Regest. 682, f° 521.

41. Ibid., Bullar., an. III, IV, lib. XXXV, Regest. 732, f° 10.

death in the year 1490. But, soon after, the duke of Wylak a son of Nicholas, king of Bosnia, invaded the abbey with a band of armed men, and expelled the administrator's agents [42]. Cardinal de Borgia had recourse to the Pontiff, and pope Innocent VIII, on the 8th of July, 1490, ordered restitution to be made, under threats of the most severe penalties [43]. The Pontiff's letter did not fail to impress the usurper ; but it was more the intervention of Ladislas, the new king of Hungary, that moved him to restore the stolen church property ; and the cardinal quietly governed the monastery again until, as pope Alexander VI, he bestowed it in commendam upon cardinal Paul Fregoso, on the day of his coronation, August the 26th, 1492 [44].

The duke of Wylak afterwards pretended that, on the occasion of his surrender or restitution of the abbey, cardinal de Borgia's agents had agreed that he should have the right of its patronage, and said that he had received letters to that effect from pope Innocent VIII. King Ladislas, unwilling to lose any privilege of his crown, requested pope Alexander VI to confirm him in his patronal right on the monastery of Peterwardein, and the grateful Pontiff readily granted his petition on the 14th of January, 1493 [45].

On the 14th of July, 1478, he had become the successor of a member of his household, James Ribes, in the administration of the monastery of Blessed Mary de Regali, of the

42. Theiner, Monumenta Hungariam Sacram illustrantia, t. II, p. 536 : A bull of pope Alexander VI dated the 14th of January, 1493.

43. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Inn. VIII. Secret., an. I ad VIII, t. VII, Regest. 688, fo 264vo.

44. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. IV. Bullar., an. I, t. I : the strangely foliated Regest. 772, fo 2XXX8vo, alias fo 228 ; Theiner, ubi supra, and Monumenta Slavorum Meridion., p. 534 : Monasterium beate Marie Bellifontis de Varadino Petri, Cisterciensis Ordinis, Bachiensis diocesis, quod tempore assumptionis nostre ad apicem summi apostolatus in commendam ex concessione et dispensatione apostolica obtinebamus.

45. Theiner, ubi supra.

order of St. Augustin, in the diocese of Elna, worth one hundred and twenty ducats, and, on the 17th of January, 1488, he resigned this office, satisfied with a small pension of forty gold florins [46].

As he testifies himself, cardinal de Borgia received from pope Innocent VIII the commendam of two more Benedictine abbeys in Hungary, namely, the one of St. Mary of Rinipuli in the diocese of Veitzen or Vasten, which he granted to cardinal Ascanio Sforza, on the day of his coronation [47], and that of St. Martin on Mount Pannonia, in the diocese of Raab, which he bestowed, also, on the 26th of August, 1492, upon cardinal Ardicinus de la Porta [48].

The year 1489 was not sterile for the cardinal. His continued great services claimed recognition. On the 10th of February, he was given the priory of Bl. Mary de Organya in the diocese of Urgel, but he resigned it at once, satisfied with the privilege of accepting it at the next vacancy [49].

We notice in the same register [50] that a pension of seventy pound small tournois was assigned to him on the 8th of April, when he gave up his right of return to the deanery of Talavera cathedral.

On the 7th of the following month, he received and resigned the administration of a monastery in the diocese of Vich, and obtained from it a yearly tribute of seventy gold florins of Aragon [51].

While cardinal de Borgia was administrator abbot of the Augustinian monastery de Trianos, in the diocese of Leon, his right was contested and the abbey usurped ; but, on the

46. Ibid., Bullar., an. III, IV, V, lib. XL, Regest. 737, f° 47.
47. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 772, f° 196.
48. Ibid., f° 106.
49. Ibid., Inn. VIII, Bullar., an. IV, V, lib. XLII, Regest. 739, f° 9.
50. f° 160.
51. Ibid., f° 39.

10th of September, 1489, the Pontiff ordered it returned to the cardinal, as to its legitimate possessor [52].

The 9th of October, 1489, was a red-letter day for the cardinal ; for, on that day, pope Innocent VIII added another precious miter to his already large and varied collection, by naming him, with the approval of the Sacred College, perpetual administrator bishop of Majorca [53]. On the same day, " in consideration of his noble extraction, of his great merits, and of his brilliant virtues ", he extended the faculties which the cardinal exercised already in his dioceses of Porto, Valencia and Carthagena ; by allowing him to dispose also of all the benefices of the Majorcan diocese [54]. The new bishop took possession, on the 29th of March, 1490, through his procurator, Peter Sart, curate of a parish in the diocese of Valencia [55], and he became once more his own suffragan, when the diocese of Valencia was made an archbishopric. In the beginning of his reign, on the 31st of August, 1492, pope Alexander VI conferred the administration of this diocese to cardinal John Baptist Savelli [56].

A month later, on the 8th of November, cardinal de Borgia received the archdeanery of Truxillo in the cathedral of Placentia and several other benefices, amounting together to six hundred and sixty pound small tournois [57].

The income of cardinal de Borgia did hardly increase during the year 1490. Still, he received, on the 25th of February, the almonry of the Augustinian abbey of Mount Aragon in the diocese of Huesca, with a revenue of one

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52. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Inn. VIII. Commun., an. V, lib. LXXIII, Regest. 770, f° 445.
53. Ibid., Inn. VIII. Bull. an. V, lib. XLIV, Regest. 741, f° 76.
54. Ibid., f° 79.
55. Gams, Series Episc., p. 48 ; Villanueva, Viage Liter., t. XXII, p. 89.
56. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. I, t. I, Regest. 772, f° CLVII.
57. Ibid., Inn. VIII. Bullar., an. V, VI, lib. XLIX, Regest. 746, f° 159.

hundred and thirty pound small tournois [58], and the Pope reserved for him several benefices in Spain, on the 18th of June [59].

He obtained, on the 12th of January of the following year, a number of smaller benefices left vacant by the death of Giovanni de Borgia, one of his relatives [60], and yet others, on the last day of that month [61].

The uniformity of the cardinal's toilsome life was relieved by a day's joyful festivity on the 2d of January, 1492. Granada, the last of the capitals and strongholds of the Moors in Spain, had capitulated on the 25th of November, 1491, and was to surrender on the 2d day of the following year. On this day the Spanish ambassadors and residents in Rome celebrated, on the Piaza Navona, the last assault on Granada, which was represented by a wooden castle ; and they also indulged in the national amusement ol bullfights. Roderic de Borgia, who never lost his love for his native country and considered the festival as a feast of religion, liberally contributed towards the solemnities, and, according to Spanish custom, offered bulls to the people in front of his palace [62].

The last diocese bestowed on cardinal de Borgia was, with the exception of that of Rome, the diocese of Egher or Erlau, in Hungary. Pope Innocent VIII appointed him administrator bishop of that see, towards the end of the year 1491, or in the beginning of 1492.

The king of Hungary did not, however, introduce the car-

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58. Ibid., Inn. VIII. Bullar., an. VII, lib. LIX, Regest. 756, f° 251vo ; Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Divers. Inn. VIII et Alex. VI, 1491-1492 : Lib. Annatorum f° 4vo.

59. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Inn. VIII. Bullar., an. VII, lib. LVIII, Regest. 755, f° 276.

60. Ibid., Inn. VIII. Bull., an. VII, VIII, lib. LXII, Regest. 759, f° 213vo.

61. Ibid., Bullar., an. VIII, lib. LXV, Regest. 762, f° 160.

62. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 299.

dinal into possession of the bishopric, but sent to Rome an embassy, to respectfully inform the Pontiff that he could not comply with his wishes on this special occasion, but would with royal munificence compensate the cardinal for this omission ; and, in fact, he already sent along the papers by which he named him protector and advocate of his kingdom and interests at the papal court. The King's envoys also most earnestly begged for the bestowal of the see of Erlau upon the bishop of Raab, the monarch's beloved treasurer. Always ready to sacrifice his personal advantages to the peace and welfare of the Church, Cardinal de Borgia himself, although frustrated in some way, joined his most ardent prayers with those of the envoys, that the Pontiff might deign to rescind his own nomination and provide the royal treasurer with the diocese that he readily resigned. The Pope answered at first that he had expected the King to give, before this time, possession of the diocese to Roderic, the vicechancellor of the Roman Church, because he had written to him the most pressing letters to that effect, even with his own hand, and because the cardinal had well deserved the appointment by his numerous and great services rendered to him and to the apostolic See, as also by his affection for the King and the good words he had always spoken for him at the Roman court. Yet, he finally allowed the Hungarian ambassadors to tell their master, and he wrote himself, that, as soon as a consistory could be held, he would, upon a favorable report of the vicechancellor, satisfy the King and issue the bull of nomination of his treasurer, the bishop of Raab, to the see of Erlau [63].

Gams [64] does not mention cardinal de Borgia among the bishops of Erlau, " Agria ", and records Urban de Magy-Luche, or Doczy, as its bishop from the year 1486, till his

63. See Document 83.

64. Series Episc., p. 367.

death, about 1493, then succeeded by Thomas IV Bakács. It is highly probable that further negotiations took place between the Hungarian and the Roman courts, and that the King changed his mind, perhaps at seeing the cardinal's disinterestedness and favorable dispositions towards him. However that may be, there are a number of documents to show that vicechancellor de Borgia actually was a bishop of Erlau.

He received, on the 2d of May, 1492, the preceptory of the Teutonic military order of Jerusalem, in Palermo, with an income of fifteen hundred gold florins, and it was provided in the papal commission that he could hold this office together with his regular dioceses of Porto and of Valencia and his commendams of the dioceses of Carthagena, Majorca and Erlau [65].

On the 18th of the same month, the Pontiff reserved for him some benefices in the kingdom of Navarra, stipulating again that his five dioceses, among which the one of Erlau is mentioned, should not prevent him from enjoying the favor [66].

A few days later, on the 1st of the month of June, the Pontiff took further care of cardinal de Borgia's future, by reserving other Spanish benefices for him ; and, once more, he allowed him their tenure together with his dioceses of Porto, Valencia, Carthagena, Majorca and Erlau, and all his other ecclesiastical possessions [67].

The diocese of Erlau became vacant through the cardinal's elevation to the See of St. Peter and, as pope Alexander VI, he granted it to cardinal Ascanio Sforza, on the last day of August, 1492 [68].

65. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Inn. VIII, Secret., lb. III. Regest. 693, f° 53.
66. Ibid., f° 56.
67. Ibid., Inn. VIII. Bullar., an. VIII, lib. LXVII, Regest. 764, f° 25.
68. Ibid., Bullar., Alex. VI, an. I, t. I, Regest. 772, f° 2XIvo.

It seems that towards the end of his life, pope Innocent VIII was more than ever anxious to give to cardinal de Borgia tokens of esteem and appreciation ; for, besides the concession, during the year 1492, of the benefices which we have just now recorded, he granted to him, on the 11th of the mounth of January, a bull for the reassumption of the Augustinian monastery of St. Peter de Agre in he diocese of Urgel [69].

On the 23d of the same month, he reserved for the cadinal two more benefices [70] ; and, on the 29th of April, he bestowed on him the promised preferments that had become vacant [71].

One of the last acts of pope Innocent VIII was to further increase the cardinal's dignities and jurisdiction, by promoting him from bishop to archbishop of the see of Valencia, on the 9th of July, 1492, a fortnight before his death.

Already since the 22d of the previous month, the Pontiff was a very sick man, feeling better for a few days and then worse again, and he finallly departed piously and quietly, after long suffering, on the 25th or 26th of July, 1492.

Cardinal de Borgia had now lost the fifth of the Sovereign Pontiffs whom he had served as a cardinal, for the space of thirty-six and a half years. He had been greatly esteemed and loved by each one of them ; his authority at the Roman court had continuously grown during the reign of each successive Pontiff, and ever more numerous revenues and dignities had been bestowed upon him, till he had evidently become the most highly considered, in every respect, among the members of the Sacred College of cardinals.

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69. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Divers. Inn. VIII et Alex. VI, 1491-1492, Annata f° 72vo.

70. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Inn. VIII, Bull., an. VIII, lib. LXVIII, Regest. 765, f° 185vo.

71. Ibid., lib. LXVII, Regest. 764, f° 124vo.

CHAPTER IX.

Cardinal de Borgia in public life.

Roderic de Borgia was by nature a friend of the common people, whom, reciprocally, he never had reason to fear, not even in public disturbances, as when he saved his own brother from the blind hatred of the Romans. When the city of Siena made to him their solemn act of obeisance, their orator publicly stated that the populace, riotous during vacancies of the Holy See, had often submitted to his eloquence and returned to loyalty and peace [1]. On a similar occasion the Venetian spokesman declared : We have observed you at all times and in every office to be an excellent cardinal, and, through your kindness, a good father. He was loved even by those who knew him best, for he had won the affection of the members of the Roman court [2].

His esteem and consideration in the Sacred College had commenced almost with his cardinalate, when his colleagues heard of his exploits near Ascoli and of his successful labors in reducing to obedience, justice and peace the whole March of Ancona. His learning and piety, his activity and wisdom continually increased the weight of his counsels, while his strict justice and integrity procured him the confidence of his colleagues.

Thus cardinal d'Alain named vicechancellor de Borgia as executor of his last will. It happened, however, that at the cardinal's death, on May the 3d, 1474, his liabilities exceeded the assets, and the vicechancellor would have been

1. Rome, Bibl. Barberin. Cod. B. B. B. I. 13 : Hier. Porcii Comment.

2. Moroni, Dizion. Art. Valenza, p. 288.

deprived of his dues, had not the Pontiff made up the deficit with the revenues of the benefices of the deceased [3]. Cardinal d'Estouteville, who died on January 22d, 1483, likewise confided the settlement of his vast estate to his colleague de Borgia [4].

It is well known that cardinal de Borgia always took an important part in the deliberations of the Sacred College and of the papal consistories [5], from which, a model of fidelity to duty, he never was absent, during the long years of his cardinalate, when not prevented by sickness, which was very seldom, as Sigismondo de' Conti testifies [6]. This is illustrated by a letter sent to him by the cardinal of Pavia, on the 19th of June, 1473 : " I advise you to return from Spain ", cardinal Ammanati wrote, " and to sail for Rome as soon as occasion offers. Spain, where you toil much and profit little, is not so important, that you should not be impressed more by these our following interests. Your authority is great here and all have uncommon love for you. You can do to the Holy See a useful service by persuasion, request and resistance; and, above all, by strengthening the weakness of some who always open the way to our detriment. We have created eight cardinals last May ; and, had not divine goodness come to our help, more than our own exertions, we would have created as many more this month of June. This matter is now postponed but not put aside. From letters of others you will fully learn the kind of men who threaten us with disgrace. I will indicate but one, equally known to you and to me. You know the one whom you have so often called a bastard, against whom you have always admonished us to keep on our guard. I have found,

3. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Bullar., lib. XIV, t. XIX, Regest. 564, f° 119.

4. von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 256.

5. Çurita, Hist. de Don Hernando, lib. I, s. XI, f° 15.

6. Le Storie de suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 53.

in the secret memoirs of our dear Calixtus, a copy, made by his own hand, from the document by which he was excused of illegitimate birth, in order to receive priesthood and ecclesiastical dignities ; and now, one who can do it, tried to include him in our order, and insisted with such vehemence, that I wonder myself how we have escaped the misfortune. Neither the constant rumor of so many years, the dissuasion of several cardinals, nor my testimony was of any effect upon a mind that was made up. Michael Ferrarius was alleged as a witness, and it was asked that he should be either summoned here to testify or be sent to you for hearing but neither proposition was accepted. I doubt whether they shall secretly notify him and procure from him letters of an officious lie. Such is the whole situation. If this matter is odious to you, as I know it always was, see whether you can meet Ferrarius first and learn the truth from him ; or, should he prefer to serve his friendship rather than his conscience, procure from elsewhere documentary proofs of his illegitimacy, which you might bring along, and thus help us prevent the evil... Between ourselves, my dear Vice-chancellor, I am sorry to say that there are some who, forgetful of their own dignity and of the chastity of their station, constantly instigate the willing Pontiff to go ahead. Therefore, since you are capable of opposing them, I am longing for your return almost the whole day long " [7].

Thus was cardinal de Borgia's preponderant influence, already at that time, acknowledged and invoked by one of his colleagues, who, in other epistles, called him a most distinguished member of the Church, and augured the papal

7. It may incidentally be remarked that Roderic de Borgia, the outspoken antagonist of any illegitimate being admitted to the Sacred College, could never think of creating Cesar de Borgia a cardinal, if his nephew was not of lawful birth.

tiara for him [8], although, as the reader will have noticed already, the cardinal of Pavia was often rather ill than well disposed towards him.

On the occasion of the solemn homage of Ferdinand, king of Naples, his orator had no fear of offending the susceptibilities of the cardinals present, when he addressed the new Pontiff, Alexander VI, saying : " Thou hast been competent in managing great affairs, courageous in adversity, and thou hast been held as the principal cardinal since almost forty years ". The speaker of Siena simply stated that he had been the prince of the Sacred College all these many years [9].

Cardinal de Borgia's influence on his colleagues was particularly remarkable at the election of the Popes of his time. The example of his accession to the cardinal of Siena commanded all the votes required for the elevation of pope Pius II. If we can believe the Mantuan envoy, it was greatly owing to the exertions of the vicechancellor that pope Paul II obtained the triple crown. He again led in the conclave of pope Sixtus IV by setting the public example of his vote, by acceding to cardinal Francesco della Rovere; and, at the death of this Pontiff, the vicechancellor was at first the candidate himself of a party of cardinals ; and he brought about, with the assistance of Giuliano della Rovere, the election of pope Innocent VIII, as we have noticed lately.

The part which he had taken in their elevation could not but favorably dispose the successive Pontiffs in cardinal de Borgia's behalf, but it was his great qualities and virtues that won their confidence and favors. Pope Innocent VIII explains, in an unusual preamble to one of his bulls, the secret of the cardinal's uninterrupted preferments under all the Popes whom he served. The flattering page is as

8. Epist. 670, 678, ap. Oldoini, t. III, p. 156, and Christophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t. 2, p. 374.

9. Rome, Bibl. Barberin. Cod. B. B. B. I. 13 : Hier. Porcii Comment.

follows : " Innocent bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our venerable brother, Roderic, bishop of Porto, vice-chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, Health and apostolic blessing. At times we direct our earnest considerations upon thee, who art distinguished by thy noble extraction, rich in merits and conspicuous by thy virtues ; and We attentively reflect upon the fact that, whilst thou shinest forth with the dignity of the cardinalate, thou hast been very useful to the Church of Rome, under the Pontiffs of happy memory Calixtus the Third, Pius the Second, Paul also the Second and Sixtus the Fourth, our predecessors, and at last under Us, for thirty years already or thereabouts. Thou hast helped Us to bear the burdens of that Church, bending thy shoulders under them, constantly at work and afraid of no kind of labor. Thou last lent Us assistance by thy exceptional prudence, thy ready acuteness, thy mature counsel, thy perfect loyalty and thy long experience in affairs, as also by the other innumerous virtues which thou art known to possess. Nor doest thou ever cease to be useful yet. We consider it, therefore, to be becoming or even rather a duty that, like the Most High, who grants more abundant graces to those whom he knows to make themselves more worthy of them by their meritorious works, and who has privileged thee with special virtues ; so also We, who hold his place on earth, should bestow uncommon favors upon thee, who fillest already the first place in the Order of our venerable brethren of the Sacred College, the cardinals of the said Church " [10].

It is no wonder, therefore, if the various Popes continued to accumulate benefices and valuable dignities upon him, and continually extended the sphere and importance of his faculties and jurisdiction.

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10 See Document 84.

There would be no end to a list of prebends and offices, recorded in the Vatican Archives, which he obtained from the Sovereign Pontiffs, or which he himself granted, through exceptional prerogatives, to the numerous members of his household, staying either at his court or elsewhere. In fact, Gaspar of Verona wrote that the cardinal distributed the papal favors according to his own pleasure, and he added: He is well known to be very friendly towards persons of merit [11]. By his letter of the 21st of October, 1471, even the cardinal of Pavia thankfully acknowledged the vicechancellor's intercession with the Pope in his favor [12].

When legate de Borgia was on his way to Spain, pope Sixtus IV wrote to let him know that he had named a certain one bishop, pursuant to his advice, and had given an abbey to another ecclesiastic recommended by him. Nor would the same Pontiff allow a missionary of the Canary islands to make use of some extraordinary faculties granted by himself, unless they should first be inspected and approved by cardinal de Borgia. Nay more, the legate to Spain was authorized not only to announce the next bestowal of the red hat upon certain prelates, but even to propose for the cardinalitial honors some other Spanish ecclesiastic of his choice.

This was perhaps the only occasion on which he could name a candidate for such high honors, but the letter of cardinal Ammanati, which we have just reported, is sufficient evidence that the vicechancellor exerted great power in matters of the creation of new cardinals. Of this we find a remarkable instance during the reign of pope Innocent VIII. Having been informed of the Pontiff's intention of naming several more cardinals, Lorenzo de' Medici requested the

11. Supplicationes a Pontifice signatas pro suo arbitrio distribuit... Hic in benemeritos gratissimus pernoscitur. Ap. Rev. des Quest. Hist. Vol. 29, p. 385.

12. Epist. et Com., f° 213.

honor for his son, Giovanni, afterwards pope Leo X. The candidate's tender age was, however, a serious objection to the papal concession, and the powerful ruler of Florence had nearly lost all hope, when cardinals de Borgia and Sforza interposed with the Pontiff and obtained for him the unexpected favor, on the 9th of March 1489 [13]. Lorenzo not only wrote himself to thank cardinal de Borgia, but also wrote to his ambassador, Lanfredini : " I wish you would let Monsignor the vicechancellor know that I am well aware of the kind of work that he is doing for me, and of the fact that my honor would be in sore plight, if his Reverend Lordship had not borne it up. Offer to him not only my person and all I have, but also all that Giovanni may ever be able to accomplish ; for he shall be more his son than mine ; and I know that he shall ever remember, that he owes to the Reverend Lord the dignity thus obtained [14].

Cardinal de Borgia had shortly before, in the year 1486, rendered a service more important still to Ferdinand, king of Naples, by prevailing upon pope Innocent VIII, in spite of the passionate remonstrances of cardinal Balue and of the French party in the Sacred College, to make peace with the King, and thus prevent a French invasion of the Southern kingdom. On this occasion, Ferdinand wrote to his envoys in Rome of the cardinal's virtues and of his authority at the papal court, and directed them to thank him and to further his credit and fortune [15].

The dictator of Florence and the king of Naples were not the only potentates whom cardinal de Borgia placed under

13. von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom. Bd. III, s. 265 ; Roscoe, Leo the Tenth, vol. I, p. 13 ; de l'Epinois, in Rev. des Quest. Hist., vol. 29, p. 385.

14. Leonetti, Papa Alessandro VI, vol. I, p. 142 from Mss. Archiv. Palatin. Reip. Florent.

15. Christophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t. 2, p. 320, from Infessura ap. Muratori, p. 1204 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 283-285, footn. ; Rev. des Quest. Hist., Vol. 29, p. 385, refer. to Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, t. I. Lett. 274.

obligations to him and with whom he kept up correspondence. Jacob of Volterra [16] states that he was distinguished by his connections with very many princes and kings, and the cardinal of Pavia [17] wrote to him, on the 27th of July, 1475 : " It causes me pleasure that a man of your renown wishes to hear from me ; I think to be something when I can please to you, who are established so high... But you ask for letters which you do not answer ; you care too much for great things ; you pay attention to kings and princes only, while you easily forget your humble colleagues, although you do not abandon your friends on serious occasions ".

We have noticed how, indeed, he was constantly engaged with the kings of Aragon and of Castile and their political concerns during his legation in Spain, and he ever since acted as a confidential agent of queen Isabella with the Roman Pontiff, or, as Hieronymus Porcius puts it [18], he was lastingly entrusted with the care of Spanish affairs.

In the introduction of one of his letters to the emperor of Germany, pope Alexander VI himself testifies that, when yet a cardinal, he had always cherished a special affection towards Frederic, the emperor, and towards his son Maximilian, the illustrious king of the Romans [19]. Already in the year 1469, cardinals de Borgia and Capranica had been selected to be, as far as Viterbo, the emperor's escort of honor, on his return from Rome [20].

The friendly relations of cardinal de Borgia with the kings of Hungary are evidenced by the facts that king Mathias recommended him for the abbey of Peterwardein, and Ladislas appointed him as defender and protector of the

16. Diarii della Corte di Roma, Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staatsarchivs. Cod. 987, f° 71.
17. Epist. et Comment., f° 279.
18. Ap. Burchard, Diar., vol. II, p. 608.
19. Vienna, K. u. K. Staatsarchiv. : Original documents, 1493, 16 Febr.
20. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 379.

kingdom, where he was, finally, welcomed as administrator bishop of Erlau.

He had friendly relations with princes of countries as distant as the grand-duchy of Lithuania, nor even were his good services forgotten yet, when the orator of grand-duke Alexander addressed the Pontiff, in the year 1501 : " It is not necessary, Most Holy Father ", he said, " to fatigue your pious ears with the recital of these details of our history; for you know them fully through experience, made at the time of your felicitous direction of the chancery of the Holy Holy See, when you lent your powerful protection to the flourishing house of the White Eagle. Deign to continue, and what you then obtained through intercession for the honor of this glorious family, now bestow with wonted benignity from the fullness of St. Peter's bark " [21].

This wide acquaintance of cardinal de Borgia with the temporal rulers of Europe naturally entailed a vast correspondence, which made cardinal Ammanati complain of the scarcity of his letters of simple friendship or courtesy, whilst he was constantly engaged in writing on matters, political or religious, of importance to the Church, and thus helping the reigning Pontiffs to bear the heavy burdens of their sacred office. The whole of the cardinal's life, so to say, was devoted to business for the spiritual or temporal good of Holy Religion.

His routine work of the chancery took up most of his office hours, and a part of unofficial or home life was needed to attend to his numerous extra duties.

We could not form an adequate idea of the cardinal's history, should we not notice him as a private individual, shielded from the public eye, as well as a man of his station could be.

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21. Theiner, Monumenta Polon. et Lithuan, t. II, p. 279 ex Regest. Origin., an. VIII, Armar. XXXII, t. XXI, f° 38.

CHAPTER X.

Cardinal de Borgia in private life.

ARTICLE I. — THE CARDINAL'S APPEARANCE, QUALITIES, VIRTUES AND VICES.

Hieronymus Porcius [1] describes cardinal Roderic de Borgia as being of high stature, and, as he was stated to be already at his birth [2], of a medium complexion, with dark eyes and slightly full lips, of robust health, able to endure more toil than could be believed, whether in rain of sunshine.

This last detail is confirmed by Politian, the Sienese orator, who adds that his whole body manifested a lively power and solid strength.

Jason Mayno, the speaker of Milan, declares that the new Pontiff was of a beautiful shape, which enhanced the lustre of his virtue, and he notices, in particular, his broad forehead, his royal brow, his frank and stately countenance and the noble grace of his entire person.

So also Nicholas Tigrinus, the spokesman of Lucca, admires his features full of force and commanding respect.

The bishop of Adria, who spoke in the name of the duke of Ferrara, declared his aspect to be venerable and far more august than an ordinary human appearance.

All these particulars were gathered by Victorelli [3], from the dircourses delivered at the solemn obeisances of the Italian

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1. Rome, Bibl. Barberin, Cod. Ms. B. B. B. I. 13 : Comment. ; Bibl. Casanat., Idem printed in A. D. 1493, ap. Burchard, Diar. Vol. II, p. 608.

2. Morenico y morrudet — See Document 1, ad finem.

3. Addit : ad Ciaconium, Vitae Roman. Pontiff, p. 152.

powers to pope Alexander VI. Most of these discourses are preserved by Porcius [4].

Roderic de Borgia was nearly sixty years old when these praises were offered to him, and he must have been a really handsome man when he was in the bloom of life. Gaspar of Verona, who had been his instructor, writes of him, then little more than thirty years of age : " The vicechancellor is a good-looking man, of joyful countenance and cheerful aspect, of refined and sweet language, delighting the distinguished women whom he meets, and attracting them in a wonderful manner to love him, more than a loadstone attracts iron ; but it is admitted, to be sure, that he sends them off untouched " [5].

These lines written by Gaspar in praise of his former pupil have been much abused by the enemies of pope Alexander VI, who, in their want of even a semblance of proof of their vile accusations, jump at any old phrase where the word woman is mentioned in connection with any account of Roderic de Borgia. They seem not to know that it is unjust to condemn the cardinal for possessing qualities of mind and body that secured him, as we have noticed, the love of his colleagues, of the whole Roman court and of the people generally, because they happened also to arouse admiration of prominent ladies. A woman's love, especially when rejected, always jeopardizes a man's fair name, but does not always make him deserve a bad reputation. To draw more clandestinely their unproved, " latius os " conclusions against the honorability of cardinal de Borgia from the remarks of Gaspar of Verona, many of them simply, but with signal

4. Ubi supra.

5. Formosus est, letissimo vultu aspectuque jucundo, lingua ornata atque melliflua, qui mulieres egregias visas ad se amandum gratior allicit et mirum in modum concitat plus quam magnes ferrum, quas tamen intactas dimittere sane putatur — Gaspar Veronensis, De gestis tempore Pauli II, ap. Muratori, t. III. p. II, col. 1036.

bad faith, ignore and suppress the last line which the eye-witness wrote to set forth his pupil's victorious virtue. This is done by Gregorovius in his Lucrezia Borgia, Volume I, page 9 and by de l'Epinois in his article, Pape Alexandre VI, in the Revue des Questions Historiques, Tome 29, page 365; where he, moreover, viciously mistranslates and assures us, upon his own authority, that the cardinal was not a saint to overcome the temptation. Pastor likewise, on page 588 of the first volume of his Geschichte der Päpste, promises to adduce in favor of his maimed and thus falsified report a number of testimonies from later times. In another place [6] Gregorovius relates the whole statement of Gaspar of Verona, but, in spite of the ancient historian's character and of the context, he assures us that those last words were probably added by way of irony. The Encyclopedia Britannica here imitates Gregorovius's sneering.

We admit that, according to a very dubious, or spurious, letter of pope Pius II, cardinal de Borgia once took his recreation at no great distance from a company of Sienese ladies ; but there is not a contemporary author to give a single instance, where he ever passed any of his time in female company.

But enough of this, and let us take a look at the cardinal's mental features.

The beauty of Roderic de Borgia was not that of an artistic statue. It was the qualities of his soul, reflected on his countenance, that imparted to him that heavenly charm, which his contemporary, Giovanni Stella, admired [7]. His appearance commanded respect, for in his eyes was mirrored the power of his vast intellect, of which his unusual graduating honors in Bologna had given a first proof. Hartman

6. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 211, footn.

7. Ap. Clément de Vebron, Les Borgia, p. 559, and Leonetti, Papa Alessandro VI, vol. III, p. 524.

Schedel reports that he was of a vigorous and penetrating mind [8], and even a Tomaso Tomasi writes that anyone who observed his mental endowment and talents could see that he was born to govern [9]. Raphael Maffei de Volterra also mentions his great intelligence accompanied with good judgment, a happy memory and knowledge [10]. Celadonius states in his sermon to the cardinals electors of his successor, Pius III, that he remembered, after several years, the smallest particulars of the requests or supplications, which, as Pope, he had signed [11].

Jason Mayno [12] sets forth the courage of his heart : " Thou hast already demonstrated ", he declares, " in many perils how great is the constancy of thy unconquered soul, and how strong the energy of thy unbroken will. Thou art not accustomed to fear in adversity nor to be elated in success ; thou goest ahead, always the same man, with inflexible rectitude, unbiassed judgment and incorruptible integrity; in the entire course of thy life thou presentest the same front, the same countenance to whatever assault of fortune " [13].

His mental superiority fits him for any task, says Giacomo of Volterra who saw him at work ; he is quick by nature, but, above all, wonderfully active in transacting business [14].

Notwithstanding his extraordinary activity, he was gifted with a restful disposition. As soon as work or some difficulty presented itself, he did what the Pontiff or his own judgment directed him to do, and, after that, he felt quiet, leaving to divine Providence the result of his labor. He retained this happy temperament till the end of his life. In

8. Munich, Staatsbibl., Cod. Lat. 716, f° 124.
9. P. 32, ap. Christophe, Histoire de la Papauté, t. II, p. 374.
10. Anthropologia, lib. XXII.
11. English Histor. Rev., t. VII, p. 311.
12. Ubi supra.
13. Also Rome, Bibl. Vittor. Emman., Cod. Sessor., 314, f° 148.
14. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Ms. Cod. 987, f° 71.

the month of September, 1500, Paolo Capello related to the Venetian senate that " the Pope, although seventy years old, is growing younger every day, his mental troubles never last over night ; he wants to live, is of a jovial nature and, meantime, does what turns out to his advantage " [15]. As a consequence, he had peace of mind at all times, as Raph. Brandolinus Lippus wrote, on the 10th of September, 1501 : " The Pontiff enjoys such health of body and composure of mind as no one ever enjoyed more fully " [16].

Nor was he simply calm and placid ; but, whenever he was not at serious work, his features bore an air of contentment and cheerfulness, so apt to conciliate people's good will, as justly remarks the Milanese orator, Jason Mayno [17]. Nothing is falser, Gregorovius says [18], than the picture generally drawn of him, as of a gloomy and atrocious man. This writer relates two of his jokes in his old age : He was unwell with a cold and had lost a tooth ; he ordered the Ferrarese envoy to write to the duke that his indisposition was nothing, and, should the duke be here, he would, notwithstanding his bundled up head, invite him to go together with him on a wild boar hunting. Again, when the Pope had, with great satisfaction, looked over the list of noblemen, whom Ercole of Ferrara would send, to conduct Lucretia de Borgia from Rome to her husband, his son, he laughed and said to the duke's envoy that, should his master want to send even Turks to fetch the bride, they would be welcome with him [19]. Roderic de Borgia's contemporaries

15. Sanuto, t. III, col. 846, ap. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 435, footn. ; Albèri, Relazioni, ser. 2, vol. 3, p. 11.

16. Römische Quartalschrift, II, p. 203, from Bibl. Vatican., Cod. Latin. 3460.

17. Ubi supra.

18. Lucrez. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 9 ; Symonds, Renaissance in Italy, p. 372.

19. Lucrez. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 199, 205.

gave to this lovely disposition the name of constant cheerfulness, but Gregorovius is pleased to call it frivolity [20].

Contemporaries agree in stating that Roderic de Borgia was naturally an orator. He is a fluent speaker, Jacob of Volterra says, although he is not a Renaissance poet, " in mediocri literarura valde compositus [21] ". Raphael de Volterra, Maffei [22], afterwards wrote that he had an inborn eloquence apt to convince, that no one set forth his cause more carefully nor defended it more forcibly, and that he led his hearers withersoever he wanted. He was also a pleasant conversationalist, he added, accommodating himself to the inclinations of his companions, speaking of amusements with the cheerful, of regulations with those inclined to severity and of Church government with his colleagues.

The cardinal's vast erudition supplied him with ample material for the exercise of his natural talents. Jason Mayno [23] further addresses the newly-crowned pope Alexander VI, saying : " No one excels thee in literary science or longer practice of business, no one was made more prudent through varied experience in a multitude of different affairs, no one more cautious through more numerous administrations. After thy long and constant intercourse with various nations, no one is more skilful than thou in judging and valuing men. No one is better acquainted than thou with ancient and modern history ; no one knows better either former or recent customs. Elevated to the eminence of the cardinalate at thirty-seven years of age, thou hast learned nor only all the customs and rites of the Roman curia, not only the regulations and condition of the churches and ecclesias-

20. Ibid., s. 160.
21. Vienna, Ms. Cod. ubi supra.
22. Anthropologia, post, p. 261.
23. Ubi supra, and Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Emman., Mss. Sessorian : Cod. 314, f° 148.

tical persons ; but thou hast also handled the most secret interests of peoples and nations, of princes and kings. "

The speaker of Montferrat also praised the proficiency of pope Alexander VI in liberal arts ; and, by his extemporaneous answer, the Pontiff proved the accuracy of the compliment ; for, in thanking the prince, he gave a recital of the services rendered by the little marquisate to the Holy See, in wonderful order, from earliest times, down to the present. His answer to the orator of Siena also manifested his knowledge of that city's history [24]. In the year 1501, he gave another similar proof of historical knowledge. The orator of the Grand Duke of Lithuania spoke before him on the history of Lithuania, of Poland and of Hungary. In his answer the Pontiff took up, one after another, the sentences of the speaker's address, learnedly commenting on them and insisting on the services rendered to the Catholic Church by the grandfather, the uncle and the father of the present Grand Duke, who had made of their countries a bulwark against the invasions of the Mohammedans [25].

A contemporary author writes that young Roderic de Borgia was easily the first among his classmates in the science of polite literature, and was not unacquainted with philosophy and Holy Scripture [26]. Ximeno [27] not only praises his convincing eloquence but his " highly eminent learning also ".

He had graduated in Bologna with the title of " Most eminent and judicious Jurisprudent ", and practice had made him an expert in Canon law. He was a good theologian, and had become so familiar with Holy Writ, that his speeches were fairly sparkling with well-chosen texts of the Sacred

24. Comment. Hier. Porcii, Bibl. Barberin. B. B. B. I. 13.
25. Theiner, Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae, t. 2, p. 279.
26. Ap. Clément de Vebron, Les Borgia, p. 555.
27. Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, t. I, p. 67.

Books. Such, for instance, was his address to his clergy of Valencia, such was his approval of the Italian league against the French invasion [28]. He officiated at divine services with such skill and elegance that he was the equal of even those who made the science of rubrics their only profession ; and he observed the ceremonies most accurately [29]. More than once did Burchard himself apply to him for the solution of his doubts [30].

Jacob of Volterra and, after him, Raynaldi [31] count among the treasures of his palace his large collection of books, treating of all branches of knowledge, " librorum omnis doctrinae vis maxima ". He never ceased to be a student. Seldom, a contemporary says, could any one find him doing nothing ; if he was not occupied by divine service or church affairs, he was reading books ; for he considered, as the greatest of losses, the loss of time [32].

Nor was he satisfied with reading for his personal benefit; he also wrote for the instruction of others. There exist, Imhoff says [33], several monuments of cardinal Roderic de Borgia's uncommon learning, which are enumerated by the historian Nic. Antonio. Gregorovius [34] and Glaire [35] also speak of some of his works. We do not include among his writings the official documents of his reign, such as bulls and briefs, that fill one hundred and thirty manuscript folio volumes of from four hundred to a thousand leaves ; but Oldoinus [36] gives a list of his other literary productions, according to Jac. Phil. Tomasin [37]. They are as follows :

28. Hier. Porcii Comment. ubi supra.
29. Celadonius, ap. English Histor., Rev. t. VII, p. 311.
30. Diar. passim.
31. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1492, no. XXVII.
32. Ap. Clément de Vebron, Les Borgia, p. 556.
33. Genealogiae XX. illustrium Familiarum in Hispania, p. 25.
34. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 313.
35. Diction. Univers., Art. Alexan. VI.
36. Addit. ad Ciaconium, Vitae Roman. Pontiff, p. 163.
37. Annal. Canonic. secular.

" Glossa in Regulas Cancellariae ad Innocentium VIII ", in full : " Glossae Roderici Portuensis Episcopi in Regulas Cancellariae et Constitutiones Innocentii VIII de Beneficiis ", or Explanation of the Rules of the Chancery and of the Constitution of Innocent VIII on Benefices, by Roderic, bishop of Porto. This work of canon law, a volume in quarto, was printed by Eucharius Silber in Rome in the year 1487 [38].

" Clipeus Fidei S. R. E. ", or, more accurately, " Clipeus Defensionis Fidei Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae ", that is, A Shield in the Defense of the Faith of the Holy Roman Church. He wrote this book against the infidel and immoral doctrines of the neo-pagans of the Renaissance, and had it published in Strassburg, in A. D. 1492, or, according to Glaire, Gregorovius [39] and Lewis James a S. Carolo [40], in 1497.

" De Cardinalium Excellentia et Officio Vicecancellarii ", a treatise on the Eminence of Cardinals and the office of Vicechancellor. This small work, " liber unus ", is reported by Lewis James a S. Carolo [41], and was formerly preserved in the library of the learned cardinal William Sirlet.

He also wrote the history of the council of Segorve or Madrid, at which he presided in the beginning of the year 1473 [42].

His following writings, mentioned by Oldoinus, probably belong to the time of the pontificate of pope Alexander VI.

" Constitutiones Ecclesiasticae ", Constitutions on Matters

38. Mansi, ap. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., and an. 1503, no. XII, footn. ; de l'Epinois in Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 386, footn. 4 ; Gregorovius, ubi supra, footn.

39. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 313, footn.

40. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1503, no. XII, footn. of Mansi.

41. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ubi supra.

42. Ximeno, Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, t. I, p. 68. Refer. to Card. de Aguirre, Coleccion de los concilios de España, t. 3, p. 671.

ecclesiastic, printed in the Roman and Confertian Collections, as also in the bullaries of Emmanuel Roderici and Laertius Cherubini.

" Letters to the Ruthenians ", who followed the Greek rite ; urging them to join the Roman Church.

A large number of letters to cardinal Ximenez, the Franciscan archbishop of Toledo, and to Francis Philelfo, some of which have been kept in the library of cardinal Sirlet or printed in the Biography of cardinal Ximenez.

His correspondence with Jerome Savonarola, which is to be found in the library of cardinal Francis Barberini—now the " Bibliotheca Barberiniana ", in Rome.

Eighty-four letters written by that Pontiff, exclusively for the Franciscan friars and the nuns of St. Clara. They are published by father Luke Wadding, in Volumes Seven and Eight of his Annals of the Minorites.

Roderic de Borgia was also in correspondence with Cassandra Fidelis, a Venetian lady, famous for her literary attainments.

If William Roscoe had heard of the learning and of the writings of pope Alexander VI, and been informed of his actual deeds, he would have written the very opposite of his fierce invective : " If his mind had been more humanized by the cultivation of polite letters, he might, instead of being degraded almost below humanity, have stood high in the scale of positive excellence " [43].

To the detriment of belles-lettres, in general, and of his personal history, in particular, the literary productions of Roderic de Borgia have, nearly all, been lost, or wantonly destroyed by his enemies, who were not less interested in doing away with the monuments of his glorious deeds than in forging evidences of his pretended ignominies.

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43. Life of Leo the Tenth, vol. | I, p. 196.

It is admitted, even by Roscoe [44], that pope Alexander VI was a protector and promotor of literature, art and sciences ; and, there are several indications of his being a Maecenas, when yet a cardinal. Indeed, we find many members of his official household to be doctors of canon law or of theology, or otherwise remarkable for their learning. When the cardinal of Pavia, Ammanati, complained of his neglect in writing news letters, although he would pass a large portion of his nights in confabulation with his intimates, we readily conjectured these evening seances to be meetings of a literary club or academy, held at his palace ; for cardinal de Borgia was no man to lose his time in useless, trivial talk with his servants. Villanueva [45] reports a detail of a dedicatory letter of Peter Garsias, whom pope Innocent VIII had appointed to criticize Pico de la Mirandola's theses. We translate it as not insignificant on this occasion : " I, Peter Garsias, of the city of Xativa and diocese of Valencia, and bishop of Urgel, master of arts and of sacred theology, have written in the year 1488 of the salutary Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the fourth of the happy pontificate of Your Holiness, in the city of Rome, at the residence of my Most reverend Lord, Roderic de Boria, bishop of Porto... ". The cardinal's palace thus sheltered at least one more learned man. Finally, Politiano, the Sienese speaker, expressed to the new Pontiff, Alexander VI, his firm confidence that, during his reign, men of erudition and talent would receive the reward of their labors and vigils [46].

The cultivation of literature and its encouragement took up a considerable portion of cardinal de Borgia's time, but he always regarded divine service and the performance of

44. Ibid.

45. Viage Literario, t. XVIII, p. 45.

46. Hier. Porcii Comment., Rome, Bibl. Barberin, Cod. B. B. B. I. 13 ; Christophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t. 2, p. 379.

his official daily duties as his first and strictest obligations.

His piety, especially in regard to the Blessed Sacrament, was so remarkable that even his original slanderer who, however, called it hypocrisy, could not help speaking of it.

Antonio Tridentone, in writing the funeral dirge of the cardinal's sister, Tecla, mentions his great piety, already in the year 1459 [47].

In the Diary of Burchard we may notice that cardinal de Borgia was a regular and punctual attendant at the choir services of St. Peter's basilica, where, after he had become dean of the Sacred College, he often was the stately celebrant; and, when on several occasions, Burchard, the master of ceremonies, was in doubt of the rubrics, he went to him for direction. Hartman Schedel, another eyewitness, also reports that the cardinal was far better acquainted with lithurgy than all others, and that, during divine service, his voice was splendid and his movements most dignified [48].

His expensive decorations and celebration at the solemn Corpus Christi procession in Viterbo, where he outdid every prelate of the papal court, were certainly a grand manifestation of his faith and of his loving worship of Our Lord in the Holy Eucharist.

His unusual devotion to the Blessed Virgin was publicly known and is attested by no less an authority than pope Sixtus IV himself, who declared that the cardinal's love for the Virgin Mary was not less fervent than his own.

Anyone entering the cardinal's palace was confronted by a picture of the Madonna looking down upon him, beneath which the following significant inscription was written :

" Whoever thou be, who lookest at this image of the Virgin Mother.

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47. Fidel Fita, Estud. Histor., t. VI, p. 199.

48. Munich, K. Staatsbibl., Cod, Lat. 716, f° 124 or seq.

FORMER MAIN ALTAR OF THE ROMAN CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA DEL POPOLO. ERECTED BY CARDINAL RODERIC DE BORGIA AND STILL PRESERVED IN ITS VESTRY.

With a pious heart reverently say a holy Hail Mary ;

And then, beseech the Lord of all things, under the features of the child,

That the Borgia house may continue to stand unimpaired " [49].

Among the Roman churches, one dedicated to the Mother of God, Santa Maria del Popolo, was dearest to the heart of the cardinal and, let it incidentally be added, dear to all the Borgias who resided in Rome.

He enriched this church with a main altar of white marble, which was afterwards displaced to make room for another, larger but less artistic, and was taken to the vestry, where it is, till this day, carefully preserved. It is a thoroughly christian masterpiece of Roman Renaissance style, of the finest workmanship, and adorned with the most delicate engravings. High-reliefs under the facade cornice represent God the Father and the Holy Ghost, while God the Son is understood to repose in the tabernacle, above which three angels are in the act of adoration. The prominent center piece, enclosed in a delicate arch and corresponding pilasters, is a picture, still very beautiful, of the Queen of Heaven, holding in her arms the divine Child, blessing the world. Underneath is written : Hail Mary, full of grace, " Ave Maria, Gratia Plena ". On each side are geminate pilasters with double capitals and entablatures, that form four adorned niches, holding the statues of four saints most venerated by cardinal de Borgia, namely, of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Jerome and St. Augustin. The altar tomb is decorated, on each corner, with the escutcheon of Roderic de Borgia : the impaled shield, with ox and bars, crested with a cardinal's hat and tassels and supported by two standing angels. The whole work is encased in a larger

49. See Document 85.

arch and two pilasters of the Greek Ionic order, like the others.

This monument must have cost the cardinal hundreds, if not thousands, of ducats. From an impertinent and hardly noticeable inscription we learn that this altar was being erected during the month of October, 1476.

We will often have occasion, during the time of his pontificate, to notice Roderic de Borgia's confidence in the Blessed Virgin and his acts of piety and gratitude that he paid her in this sanctuary.

The Vatican records give an interesting instance of his devotion to the Prince of the apostles. Cardinal de Borgia had been designated as celebrant for the Easter solemnities of the year 1472. Wishing for the pious consolation of offering the Holy Sacrifice on St. Peter's " confession " or grave, he ventured to request the necessary permission. Pope Innocent answered him by brief of the 21st of April : Your great and remarkable devotion to St. Peter's of Rome deserves that We should favorably yield to your desires, which We know to proceed from fervent piety. We highly commend your devout intentions and allow you, for this time only, to celebrate Holy Mass and other divine offices at the main altar of the basilica. Notwithstanding the apostolic decrees etc. [50].

The cardinal's rich, artistic grand-seal [51], an impression of which we found, slightly damaged, in St. Scholastica's abbey of Subiaco, is another memorial of the same import. A simple combination of minute columns, entablements and arches divides the main portion of the oblong oval field into six niches, the upper ones of which contain the bust figurines, in half-relief, of the Mother of God with the Child on her

50. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Inn. VIII. Secret., an. V ad IX, t. VIII, Regest. 689, f° 162.

51. Almost four inches long.

Grand Seal of cardinal Roderic de Borgia.

arm, over the words : " Ave Maria ", Hail Mary, in the larger, middle niche ; of St. Jerome, on the left, and of St. Augustin on the right side. The niches of the lower row are taller and hold the full-size relief statuettes of St. Sebastian, on the left ; of St. Nicholas, in the middle ; and of the archangel St. Michael, on the right.

We know from his dedication of the Subiaco fortress and from one of his bulls that, besides the favorite saints just mentioned, the cardinal specially reverenced also the great patriarch, St. Benedict. The small lower portion of the seal is taken up by a half-relief statuette, representing a vigorous prelate in mitre and cope, very likely a picture of the cardinal, placed between two tiny columns, that support a richly ornamented cornice and low gable, flanked with a pair of Borgia ensigns armorial. The legend along the border is : " Rodoricus Eps. Alban—Sce. Ro. Ecce. Vice-cancellar ", or, Roderic bishop of Albano—vicechancellor of the holy Roman Church.

As regards his intercourse with his fellowmen, we have observed already how cardinal de Borgia was loved by all who knew him : by the Popes, the cardinals, the officials of the Roman court and by the common people of the City. Nor is this a wonder, if we consider his conduct towards them all. The orator at the solemn obeisance of the duchy of Milan, Jason Mayno, did not fear to publicly say : " During the many years that thou hast been a cardinal and vice-chancellor, no one has requested help from thee, which thou didst not grant at once ; to no one didst thou ever refuse legitimate protection ; no one, struck by misfortune or provoked by injustice, has implored thy aid in vain. It was not unusual for thee, not only to come to the assistance of one to one who did not request it. It was always easy to

reach thee, and. even when engaged in matters of importance, thou didst not complain of intrusion. Thou didst not only kindly receive those who approached thee, but even caress them with sweet words and flattering familiarity. After the example of emperor Titus, thou never didst allow a man to depart sad from thee, and thou didst consider as lost a day on which thou hadst not done a favor to some one. Thy splendid gifts and magnificent expenses abundantly prove thy liberality and munificence " [52]. The cardinal of Pavia had written in a similar manner to his colleague before : " I am not angry at your neglect of writing letters, because, in serious matters, you do not abandon those who love you, but you often expose your life for them " [53].

Of cardinal de Borgia's care for the sick we found two special instances recorded. He, namely, joined, on the 21st of March, 1478, the confraternity of the Holy Ghost, instituted for the yearly support and the protection of the hospital of the same name [54], and Moroni [55] reports that, when pope Innocent VIII granted him, in the year 1485, the privilege of conferring a few memberships of the new college of chancery collectors, together with their purchase price, he resigned one of them in favor of the hospital of " Sanctissimo Salvatore ".

There is no better means to secure the affection of the people at large, as cardinal de Borgia did, than to be generous and charitable towards the poor ; and there is truth,

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52. Rome, Bibl., Vitt., Emman., Cod. Sessorian. 314, post f° 148.

53. Epist. et Comment., f° 297vo, Letter of July 27th, 1475.

54. The following entry is made with a firm hand on folio 69 of the Confraternity book: « Ego Rodericus de Boria episcopus Portuen. cardlis et ep. Valent. S. R. E. vicecancellarius intravi predict. sanct. confraternitatem die XXI. martii 1478 ea mente ut indulgentiam prefatam a S. D. N. concessam consequar ; ideo propria manu me subscripsi » : Archives of San Spirito, Rome, ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 584, n. 3.

55. Dizion., p. 88.

no doubt, in the praises of his regular weekly or bi-weekly distributions of money and victuals to the needy, as it is related by his original slanderer, who, however, attributes all his good works to a secret intention of deceiving his colleagues and obtaining the tiara [56].

From no person was he exacting more than from himself, and it was not undeserved that the Popes, like all his contemporaries, often commended him for his activity and the assistance he continually gave them in the general administration of the Church. He was a busy man, indeed, unable to finish his work, not only during office hours, but even during daylight. Panvinius [57] and de l'Epinois [58] relate that he protracted his labor and study far into the night, and slept but a very short time.

All those qualities must, in justice, be placed to the credit of cardinal de Borgia. But we should not overlook the debit side of his moral account, all the less, when we often find rehearsed a sentence of Raphael Volaterranus [59] : " In Alexandro aequabant vitia virtutes ", Alexander's vices equalled his virtues.

Raphael of Volterra wrote in the beginning of the sixteenth century, after the death of pope Alexander VI, at the time of the universal outburst of triumphant hatred and revenge of the nobility of the Pontifical States, who had been chastized by the Pontiff now harmlesss in his grave. The writer could not avoid the general bias of the higher Italian classes, and used a sharp, bitter style against the former victorious suzerain. He did not, however, speak of a vice set up by his contemporary, the nameless pamphleteer, who

56. Rome, Bibl. Valicell., Cod. p. 201, f° 11; Bibl. Vitt. Emman., Mss. Jesuitici, no. 1558.
57. Vitae Roman. Pontiff., Alex. VI, p. 342.
58. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 386.
59. Anthropologia, lib. XXII, post p. 261.

vitiated cardinal de Borgia's undeniable acts of virtue by attributing them all to hypocrisy and ambitious deceit.

The cardinal had spoken and acted openly for the space of thirty-seven years, and all, high and low, that were around him, had been led to respect him highly, while none but a few, like Pontano, Sannazar and Guicchiardini, who never were in his presence [60], afterwards, for mercenary purposes, exposed his pretended crimes, to gratify the revengeful nobility of the Pontifical States. Yet, the later enemies of pope Alexander VI and of all Popes, the apostate Bower [61] and Gordon [62] accuse Roderic de Borgia of having been the most skilful and most consummate of all hypocrites. A certain B. Gaddi, an unprinted scribbler of the eighteenth century, has demonstrated how ridiculous, if not how contemptible, slander may become, when he wrote that the cardinal had taken a noble Spanish lady in lieu of a wife and had children, and, besides, kept a harem of twelve noble ladies, but hid and dissimulated these things so well that they never came to light [63] ! On the contrary, Phylip Valori, the Florentine ambassador, simply stated the truth, when he wrote, on the 14th of August, 1492 : I shall not expatiate with Your Lordships on the character of the Pontiff elect, because it is very well known [64].

The animus of Raphael of Volterra is manifest from the very introduction of his incriminations. " His great qualities ", he says, speaking of the Pontiff-king rather than of the cardinal, " were obliterated by great vices, which it is useless to describe ". By this innuendo of misdeeds, Raphael opens the door to all kinds of charges, without

60. Cfr. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 178.
61. History of the Popes, vol. 3, p. 260.
62. Alex. VI, t. I, p. 12.
63. Rome, Bibl. Corsiniana, 1323 or 33 A. 2, fo 2vo.
64. Ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 612.

assuming the responsibility for any. " I shall speak only of those that the public has noticed ", he adds. And what were these great vices ? Raphael continues : " If business matters did not happen to press heavily upon him, he would give himself over indiscriminately to all kinds of recreation ". This evidently means that the Pope did the hard work first, and afterwards took a rest when he found time to do so. " Thus did he ", Raphael says, " gladly look on at comedies of Plautus and other humorous plays ". In truth, Gregorovius [65] relates an instance of such a worldly amusement, in which pope Alexander VI cannot but plead the attenuating circumstance, that he, who was already little loved by the Renaissance " poets ", could not well afford to totally abstain from a diversion so common at every Italian court and literary club. His other great vice consisted in the fact, as Raphael tells it, that " he often came to the castle of Sant' Angelo to see the masquerade on holydays, and to behold at close range what, on festive days, there might be of choice among the passers-by. " He was also out of order ", he adds, " when, at the departure of Lucretia de Borgia ", whom he calls his daughter, " for Ferrara, he gave a tournament and a hunting party at the Vatican ". Those were all the great vices enumerated.

It is remarkable that Raphael of Volterra does not utter a word of the imputed immorality of pope Alexander VI ; for Raphael, who, like the public, gave to his nephews and niece the familiar names of sons and daughter, would have discovered his sinful life, if real, sooner than his exceptional attendance at an improvised private stage in the Vatican palace.

It is a greater wonder, however, that this vile accusation has played such havoc with the history of cardinal Roderic

65. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 224.

de Borgia ; for, the more our modern historians are to sustain it, the less did contemporary writers, that saw him at work, find occasion to first set it forth. In fact, we did not find any eyewitness to cast a cloud over the cardinal's virtue. The lack of contemporary accusation compels his late enemies, in order to find some plausible excuse of their denunciations, to resort to arbitrary interpretations of writings, that have no relation whatever to anybody's moral purity or impurity.

We have spoken of, and given the original manuscript as Document 71, of a letter written by the cardinal of Pavia to his colleague de Borgia, to improve their cold friendship and, as a consequence, to obtain his patronage towards the relief of the writer's " need in many things ". H. de l'Epinois [66] reads in that letter the words : " May God grant us to put on the new man " [67], to which he adds : " and put off the old man " [68], to more easily insinuate the supposed immorality of both, and thus abuse the sacred text, which really teaches a total conversion from any kind of sin ; and which is here specially applied by the cardinal of Pavia himself to their mutual duty of charity, so that they may let their minds at rest about assailing and combatting each other, after they had been bound in ancient friendship by their respective uncles, Calixtus and Pius. Ammanati's final purpose is apparent from the remark that, should they be united, they would easily obtain for each other whatever they might hope and expect [69]. That the letter was not one of compromising admonition, but simply one of begging, is more manifest yet from the addition to his first draft [70], where he plainly exses his need of the vicechancellor's assistance.

66. Rev. des Quest. Hist., vol. XXIX, p. 369.
67. Ephes., IV, 25.
68. Ibid., 24.
69. That was, ecclesiastical offices and benefices.
70. Under Note 13 of the Document.

That the letter could not be misunderstood to be an admonition or a pious exhortation, is further evidenced through a correspondence of Peter Arrivabene, to whom Ammanati had submitted his epistle for approval and prudent delivery to cardinal de Borgia. Arrivabene answered that the letter was carefully written ; that, no matter how the vicechancellor might take the request, he could find no occasion in it to deride him ; and that, whatever he might think of the writer, the writing would undoubtedly be welcome. There is nothing in it, he says, that might diminish his estimation of you or disturb his mind ; and I have handed the letter without asking further advice. I praise your harmony, useful to the peace of heart and very necessary to the interest of both—or, at least, of the cardinal of Pavia [71]. As we see, there is nothing here for the vicechancellor's benefit, and Ammanati's confidential friend is solely concerned with a favorable result for his patron.

Nothing is harder to disprove than a fashionable prejudice of learned men. Like de l'Epinois, so also C. Douais [72] construes Ammanati's begging letter, if not into an admonition, at least into a friend's expression of grief at the spectacle of a friend's aberrations ! Douais learned, however, shortly after [73], to justly ridicule such as consider, on the occasion of this letter, the cardinal of Pavia as an admirable director of conscience, a St. Francis de Sales. He speaks, indeed, of a correspondence of one of his frivolous " poet "-companions, who, after escaping a danger of death, plainly exhorts him to lead a better life [74].

In looking for ancient authorities to replace the modern

71. Card. Papien. Epist. et Comment., f° 321vo : Letter of Nov 22d, 1476.

72. La Controverse, an. 1883, p 90.

73. Ibid., p. 221.

74. Card. Papien. Epist. et Comment., f° 266 ; and the answer, ibid., f° 266vo.

suppositions on this question of cardinal Ammanati's admonitory writing, we met with testimony beyond all suspicion to establish that cardinal de Borgia was not the passive but the active party in this work of charity, the monitor and not the admonished. We shall not, of course, find this unexpected statement in books of historians and publicists inimical to pope Alexander VI, but the letters of cardinal Ammanati himself leave no doubt on this subject.

It should not surprise anyone if, at that period of detraction and slander, the cardinal of Pavia was accused of villainies and turpitudes, but there is no proof of his imputed immorality. That he was light-minded and passionate, not always stately enough and reserved, appears to be probable, from his published and his manuscript correspondence. It was probably because of these defects that he was never admitted to the intimate friendship of Roderic de Borgia, who enjoyed a pleasant recreation, but essentially was a grave, laborious ecclesiastic.

During the month of July, 1475, the vicechancellor wrote to ask him for letters, but profited by the occasion to insert the mild but striking reproof, namely, that his amusements in Siena did not leave him time to write. Cardinal Ammanati answered, on the 29th of the same month [75], but simply denied the allegation, and continued to visit the gay city of Siena.

In a letter of the end of that year, Ammanati [76] describes the dread consequences of giving no heed to the vicechancellor's words, together with his exasperation at the sharper blame and stronger advice which he now had to hear from him.

" To the cardinal of Mantua :

... I was living in the country, at my villa near Siena.

75. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. XXXIX, no. 10, f° 133.

76. Card. Papien. Epist. et Comment., f° 305vo.

There I found my pleasure in literature and books ; and, at intervals, for the rest of my mind, in the care of a piece of well-cultivated land. I was wholly engaged by those two occupations. Seldom did I leave the place, except in case of necessity, but ' a man of my peace, in whom I trusted, who ate my bread, hath greatly supplanted me ' [77]. He has invented and told lies, from his own ill will or to please others... He has asserted, not only to immoral individuals, but even to a cardinal of the Roman court, that certain unworthy and shameful things are altogether public in Siena, that they are the common talk and stand condemned by the city's public conscience. When all this was noised abroad in Rome, it was a cause of wonder for some, to the greater number it was incredible ; by quite a few, because it was told with so much assurance, it was admitted as doubtful ; but some, being of ill will towards me, not only received it as true, but, to spread the disgrace, told it around to those who did not hear of it before ". The cardinal then relates how Sienese merchants, the envoy of Siena and, even the cardinal of that city, deny the foul accusation ; and how he himself, aware of nothing, appeared among the other cardinals. " The Pontiff celebrated on that day ", he continues, " the anniversary mass for the dead [78] and all the cardinals had assembled, according to custom. The vice-chancellor Roderic chanced to sit by my side. As persons sitting side by side usually do, he invited me to conversation, asking first how I had felt in Siena last summer. I answered: As I had the last previous years, in good health and free of the troubles of the City.—But, how much, in the meantime, has been told of you here, how much has been thrown up against your way of living ! For some months you have

77. Ps., XL, 10.

78. November the 2d.

been the talk of everybody, everybody's wonderment ; I advise you to choose any spot on earth to live, rather than Siena. Struck by the fierce utterance, I asked what the charges were, and learned without difficulty all that had been made public. I was for a moment so deeply affected, and considered the accusations as so foreign to myself, that I thought I had not really heard but had dreamed them. I pressed the vicechancellor to let me know the perpetrator of that crime. He told me that it was the work of one man, but I was unable to find out his name. The forgers of the evil and the scatterers of it are now known. I have thanked God that I have given them no reason for being incensed against me... " He bitterly apostrophizes a man to whom he had done good, one of his own household, the head originator of the slander, but he deplores more at length the facility of some cardinals in admitting evil reports and allowing them to spread ; nor does he hide his indignation against cardinal de Borgia, in particular.

Hence the open estrangement of the two cardinals, which lasted till, a year later, Ammanati requested a reconciliation by the letter which has been so much distorted against the vicechancellor. We can, with pleasure, observe that the letter was successful ; for, in the year 1478, the cardinal of Pavia wrote again : " I continue to feel in favor of our dear vicechancellor, and he shows me reciprocal affection " [79].

It is quite probable that cardinal de Borgia had been deceived and, possibly, was inconsiderate in administering his blunt advice to the cardinal of Pavia, but his action is certainly an affirmative proof, as could seldom be found, of his own moral principles and conduct. Would he assume to act as the censor of the levities of his equals, if a hundredth part of what his enemies tell of his pretended immorality

79. Card. Papien. Epist. et | Comment., fo 333vo.

were true ? and if, in particular, the famous letter of pope Pius II, rebuking Roderic de Borgia's so-called bacchanal in Siena, were not a forgery, we might well ask whether Roderic had lost his reason, to provoke the cardinal of Pavia to make the disgracing reply : " Physician, cure thyself " ? Ammanati, who lived there, must have known all about his alleged misconduct in Siena and its consequent reproof, only a few years before ; and he would, in his displeasure, have taught his monitor a lesson of cautious reserve from his own sad experience. Cardinal Ammanati, however, does not even touch upon the famous incident, and his silence ought to convince any thinking man of the fiction of pope Pius's letter and of the falsity of its fabricated contents.

As negative arguments proving the purity of life of cardinal de Borgia, we, finally, mention not only the absence of required eyewitnesses to the contrary, and the evidence of forgery of disparaging documents, as we have found already and shall find later on ; but also, directly in his favor, the respectful esteem of clergy and laity, the exceptional favors of five successive Popes and the seal of approval of every cardinal, at his elevation to the See of St. Peter.

ARTICLE II. — CARDINAL DE BORGIA'S RICHES AND EXPENSES.

We shall presently observe how, to do away with the probatory proof of the unanimous election of pope Alexander VI, his enemies dread not to make, at one fell swoop, a holocaust of the honorability and conscience of every member of the Sacred College, by virtually asserting that they all went to the conclave as to a market place, where they would meet a buyer, rich enough and anxious to buy them all. The colossal slander deserves a special investigation ; but we may remark, already now, that, should they, or their

votes, have been for sale, cheap enough and on easy terms, cardinal de Borgia might have had the means to buy them in a lump. So much, indeed, had he been favored with church revenues by one Pope after another, that he enjoyed a princely income.

Giacomo of Volterra [80] relates that the cardinal occupied, in the year 1481, an edifice as richly decorated as it was commodious, erected by himself about half-way between the bridge of Sant'Angelo and the Campo de' Fiori. Gaspar of Verona [81] assures us that it deserved to be classed among the choicest palaces of Italy.

Since, almost from the beginning of his cardinalate, Roderic de Borgia's offices and administrations increased in number and importance, it followed that soon quite a portion of his palace was used as work rooms by the officials and clerks in his employ. His regular residence had, already in the year 1463, become too small, and he rented from St. Peter's chapter several houses in the close neighborhood, as we have noticed before.

In the course of time, the number of his servants and courtiers was steadily growing, and the space of his housings became insufficient again. On the 17th of December, 1487, he leased from pope Innocent VIII two more adjoining houses at the yearly rental of eighteen ducats and two candles for the church of St. Stephen " in Prostiola " [82].

Little or nothing remains of the original Borgia palace. Its site is covered today by the palace Sforza-Cesarini.

Giacomo of Volterra [83] states in A. D. 1481, that cardinal

80. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs. Cod. 987. Diarii della corte di Roma, f° 71.

81. Ap. Muratori, Scriptores, III, II, 1036.

82. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Inn. VIII. Commun., an. V, lib. LXXIII, Regest. 770, f° 66.

83. Ubi supra.

de Borgia had revenues from numerous monasteries, especially in Italy and Spain, and from his three dioceses of Valencia, Porto and Carthagena, besides eight thousand ducats, it is said, from his office of vicechancellor. Raynaldi [84] copies that report for the year 1492, without making any addition or improvement, although the number of the cardinal's dioceses and abbeys had greatly increased during the last decade.

De Magri [85] wrote very incorrectly of late that, in A. D. 1492, Borgia enjoyed the emoluments of three Spanish archdioceses, while saying nothing of his dioceses of Porto, Majorca and Erlau.

Although many gifts of benefices, offices and dignities, made to Roderic de Borgia, have escaped our notice, and although we have neglected to account for several minor prebends, we fear that not a few of our readers have been annoyed by the interminable records of finantial favors heaped upon him. They do not, however, form a reliable basis for computing the amount of his yearly income. As we did not discover every source of his revenues, and still less the particular value of each, so it is also impossible for us to find out how some of them were lost, either entirely by incompatible advancements, resignations and transfers, or in part, by unprofitable exchanges, impositions of pensions or otherwise. In fact, the whole system of ecclesiastical incomes was a complicated and tangled concern at the time. Nor was our object, in reporting the papal appointments and bestowals, to remark upon the cardinal's affluence, but to indicate his whereabouts, his social and moral standing, his services and merits. Yet, as a matter of course, they also give us to understand that his yearly income must have been considerable.

84. Ann. Eccles. ad an. 1492, no. XXVII.

85. Notes on Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 508.

Giacomo of Volterra further says [86] : He has a great quantity of silverware, of pearls, of draperies and sacred vestments worked in gold and silk ; and of books, no doubt, precious manuscripts, of every branch of science ; and he had everything adorned in royal and pontifical style ; not to mention the innumerable ornaments of his beds and trappings of his horses made of gold, silver and silk ; besides, a wardrobe well filled with precious garments for personal use, and a great amount of gold coin, which, they say, he possesses. He is considered to be, in money and valuables of all kinds, the richest of the cardinals, with the exception of the one of Rouen, d'Estouteville.

Volterra's description of cardinal de Borgia's furniture seems to scandalize Pastor, who [87] institutes a contrast between the simplicity of life of Pope Pius II and the pomp and ostentation, " Prunk und Pracht ", of cardinal Borgia ; although he indirectly admits that their way of living was alike, when he states that, whenever it was necessary, the Pope knew how to display the magnificence of his court and to provide for the dignity of his station. So acted cardinal de Borgia.

The Roman chroniclers of his time speak but once or twice, Gregorovius says [88], of the splendor which he displayed ; namely, at the solemnities of the translation of St. Andrew's head to Rome, and at the Roman celebration of the fall of Granada ; but no one utters a word to blame him for epicurean banquets, as were given by d'Estouteville, Pietro Riario and Ascanio Sforza. He was a hard worker, sparing in diet [89], economical in his household and an enemy of

86. Ubi supra.
87. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 22.
88. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 314.
89. Archiv. della Società Romana di Storia Patria, V, IV, p. 90.

sumptuous dinners, where his sobriety was noticed [90]. The ambassador Paolo Capello related already [91] that pope Alexander VI was displeased with the royal manner of life and the prodigalities of Cesar de Borgia. Gregorovius considers cardinal Roderic to have been miserly rather than ostentatious.

Pastor [92] improves upon himself, and makes his victim guilty of the two hardly compatible vices, when he applies to him the blame of both vanity and stinginess, given by pope Pius II to some of the cardinals. It is remarkable that the historian chooses, to commit this injustice, the very occasion on which cardinal de Borgia made the princely promise, which he fulfilled, of donating a well-equipped battleship for the expedition against the Turks.

More truthfully and learnedly does Gregorovius [93] write : " The cardinal was a very humble man, plain in his ways, " sehr nüchterner Mann ", but magnificent in all that pertained to the representation of his high position. The first and foremost requisite for a cardinal of that time was to own a princely residence and to fill it with a numerous court ". This statement is correct, since in those days cardinals ranked with princes ; while cardinal de Borgia, in particular, had sometimes to receive proud kings.

As a private individual he lived even poorly ; his sleep and his meals were very short, Panvinius says [94] ; but he was stately and grand as soon as he appeared in his cardinal's hat. Not from pride or foolish vanity was cardinal de Borgia magnificent in the furniture and decoration of his residence and the number of a brilliant suite on solemn occasions, but from a serious principle of duty, which he

90. H. de l'Epinois, in Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. 29, p. 386.
91. Alberi, Relazioni, ser. 2, vol. 3, p. 10.
92. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 226.
93. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 17.
94. Alex. VI, p. 342.

wanted to be observed by other church dignitaries as well as by himself, for the edification of the people ; a duty which is lasting yet for every clergyman, to appear becomingly before the public, according to his rank and condition. Pope Alexander VI sets forth this principle in the following brief of the 15th of December, 1495, written to Francis Ximenes, who, after his appointment as archbishop of Toledo, continued to dress and live as a Franciscan friar :

" To our beloved son Francis, archbishop of Toledo. Beloved son, Health and apostolic benediction. The holy and universal Church, as We do not suppose you to be ignorant of, is, after the manner of the heavenly Jerusalem, embellished with many diverse ornaments. In the use of these we may commit mistakes by inclining too much towards their deficiency, as well as do wrong by applying them to excess. A becoming regard for each one's rank in life is praiseworthy and pleasing to God. Everyone, therefore, and especially the prelates of the Church, must endeavor, as in their moral behavior, so also in their dress and their gait, to appear neither proud, through too much pomp ; nor superstitious, through immoderate abasement ; because both excesses lead to contempt of ecclesiastical authority. We, therefore, exhort you, now that the Apostolic See has elevated you from an inferior condition to the dignity of an archbishop, not only to follow your inward conscience in the service of God, as, to our great joy, We understand you do ; but also to try to act and conduct yourself exteriorly, in conformity with the loftiness of your station, that is, in your raiment, household and all else relating to the decorum of your dignity. Given in Rome at St. Peter's under the seal of the Fisherman, the 15th day of December, 1495, of our pontificate the 4th year [95].

95. Wadding, Annal. Minor., t. | XV, p. 113.

As cardinal de Borgia, dean of the Sacred College, excelled all ecclesiastics, but the Pope, in rank and dignity, so did he surpass them all in the number and distinction of his officials and courtiers.

The original stupid slanderer and the subsequent enemies of Roderic de Borgia have filled his palace with the phantoms of denigrated women and of defamed children ; and they have, negatively at least, deprived it of all respectable persons, that one would expect to find in the company of a cardinal, so thoroughly, that we, ourselves, were quite advanced in our researches before we awoke to the possibility of finding decent men with him ; but hardly had we directed our attention to this subject, when we became aware of the fact, that he was surrounded, all the time, by large numbers of the most learned and most commendable dignitaries of the Catholic Church.

So, frequently did we meet in the Vatican archives with records of bulls, by which the Popes granted benefices and dignities to clergymen whose names were adorned with the title of Member of the household of cardinal de Borgia and his constant commensal, that we considered it worth the while to take note of these names of the cardinal's courtiers and habitual companions. Although we have undoubtedly overlooked many of them, yet we have noticed of those pertaining only to the last dozen years of the vicechancellor's cardinalate the astonishing number of more than four hundred and fifty. We have taken the names of the most prominent only, in Document 86.

From this document it further appears that the cardinal not only bestowed upon worthy men a title of honor sanctioned by the Pontiff and the Roman curia ; but, as it is often intimated or plainly expressed in the papal documents, he also was active in procuring valuable offices and church

revenues to those whom he had admitted to his familiar society.

Cardinal de Borgia gave easy access to his court to the young clerics of the Borgia house or affiliated with it. The clergy of his own dioceses, especially of Valencia, were his next favorites, and clergymen of Spain, generally, were numerous among his courtiers. A few select Italians were accepted, as also a dozen of Germans and an equal number of French dignitaries, together with a few Belgians and even a distant Swede. Applications for the honors and benefits of a domestic prelate reached Roderic de Borgia from every Catholic quarter. The cardinal was known at the time, respected and relied upon, the world over. He was making then a brilliant history, not falsified and travestied yet by revengeful enemies and deceived modern historians.

Nor were the successful candidates for Roderic's honors the lower or common members of the clergy. A score of them or more belonged to the highest social rank, and were of noble or knightly extraction. Great numbers filled the most honorable ecclesiastical positions and dignities, and among these were no less than four pontifical notaries and six members of the papal court. Higher, unusual learning was a candidate's best recommendation. We find among the members of the cardinal's official household three graduates of civil law, a dozen bachelors and two dozen doctors of canon law, besides four who had graduated in both. Theology was represented by nearly a dozen of graduates, while two masters of Arts and six doctors of medicine were his " familiares ".

Such were the men with whom cardinal Roderic passed occasional leisure moments, with whom he kept his domestic academy and remained in conversation during the greater part of the night, rather than write insipid letters to the

cardinal of Pavia. Such were his courtiers that formed the nucleus of the glorious band of eminent artists, literati and scientists, whom he afterwards gathered from all over Europe about his person and his Roman university.

Two more of the cardinal's courtiers, whom we did not find in the Vatican archives, were both renowned physicians, of whom the former was Andrea Vives, whose great merits pope Leo X esteemed so highly, that he created him a Roman count and employed him as a pontifical agent in Spain. The other was Gaspar Torrella, Torriglia, or de' Torelli, of whom it is said that, because of his knowledge of medicine, his memory shall live forever. In a bull of March the 25th, 1486, pope Innocent VIII calls him a doctor of medicine and a " familiaris " of cardinal de Borgia [96].

The most conspicuous prelates of the cardinal's court were no less than four bishops, namely, John, bishop of Girgenti ; Angelus, of Orto and Cività Castellana ; Peter Garcia, of Ales or Usel, who lived in Rome, and Bartholomew Martí, bishop of Segorve, who resided with the cardinal, and was an exemplary bishop, that held diocesan synods in the years 1479 and 1485.

There is no doubt that several of those numerous courtiers lived at the scattered places of their abbeys, archdeaneries and other prebends ; and there are instances of some of them dying, away from Rome ; but, as a rule, they had their residence in the City, where they formed the suite of their patron on solemn occasions, and were employed by him in the various branches of the Roman chancery, or as lieutenants of his governments and of his administrations of monasteries and dioceses.

96. Gaetano Marini, Degli Archiatri Pontificj, vol. I, pp. 248 and 257.

We know that James Buttafogo was an abbreviator of apostolic letters.

Bishop Martí, who had first guided him into Italy, faithfully remained by the cardinal's side for many years as his majordomo [97].

His domestic prelate, John Lopis or Lopez, a canon and dean of the cathedral of Valencia, acted as his secretary, and was chosen as secretary of the sacred consistory of the 16th of May, 1491 [98].

James Serra was his vicar general in the city of Rome.

All three of these last officials were afterwards created cardinals.

Gregorovius relates [99] that the vicechancellor Borgia had, for the space of twenty-two years, a house intendant from Nuremberg, named Lawrence Beheim, who passed his leisure hours in copying inscriptions, the collection of which eventually went to his home city.

His numerous retinue of distinguished officials and domestic prelates gave to the stately cardinal almost the appearance of a Pope, already before his election ; but they entailed heavy expenses, for it was his duty to reward them for their presence and daily labor, according to their rank, talents and responsibility. Fortunately were his daily disbursements compensated by every day's income from his numerous benefices, dignities, administrations and offices. The vicechancellery alone was thought to be worth eight thousand gold ducats.

All authors assert that he was a very rich cardinal, although he owned no real estate but his residence, which itself was

97. Vincente Ximeno, Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, t. I, p. 66.

98. Archiv. S. Consistorii, Collectanea, 1490 et infra, f° 12.

99. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 604.

too small for his accommodation, and he was obliged to pay rent for the use of several adjoining small buildings.

Giacomo of Volterra does not assert as a fact, but reports as a rumor, that he was keeping on hand great sums of gold coin [100]. De Magri [101] assures us that Borgia, through prosperous business during almost fifty years of cardinalate, had accumulated immense treasures ; but such a statement is historically false. He may, on rare occasions, have possessed a few thousand ducats of money, but his expenses and his income were, as a rule, about equal. We have observed that he was economical at home and personally very furgal, but on feasts and solemnities of religion, or under special circumstances, he was simply munificent ; and, at all times, of more than ordinary liberality, whenever individuals or church concerns needed his assistance.

It may not be out of place here to recall to mind some of his acts of munificence,

When created a cardinal, he received, as title church, the church of St. Nicholas in the Tullian prison. He found it in a delapidated condition, but expended his modest revenues and his earnings in its repairs and beautification.

He encouraged pious contributions towards the renewal of the main altar of his Valencian cathedral, but he alone defrayed the expenses of enlarging the edifice to the double of its size.

At the request of pope Pius II, cardinal de Borgia built and donated, in honor of the Blessed Virgin, the episcopal palace of Pienza.

In the year 1461, he contributed thirty men to the papal army, during the war against Sigismund Malatesta.

The following year was very expensive for him, on account

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100. Diarii della Corte di Roma, ad an. 1481.

101. Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 508.

of two religious solemnities : the translation of the head of the apostle St. Andrew to Rome and the celebration of " Corpus Christi " in Viterbo. On both occasions he far excelled in magnificence and expenditures every other prelate and cardinal.

The most lavish of all his donations probably was his building and equipping of a galley of war, for the expedition which pope Pius II had resolved to lead himself against the fierce invading Turks. This largess cost him his last penny, made him mortgage his home and have recourse to ruinous means, to pay his daily expenses.

The fortress of Subiaco cost him over nine thousand ducats.

Under the appearance of two loans, the cardinal gave three thousand ducats towards the completion of the castle of Nepi.

Knowing the financial stress of the Supreme Pontiff, he donated, in the year 1482, nearly a thousand ducats, due him by the papal treasury.

The fine, artistic altar which he erected in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo was a gift not unworthy of a prince.

Until this day we may admire his costly improvements in the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, where his armories on the rich ceiling publish still his boundless generosity.

In fact, Hieronymus Porcius [102] relates that cardinal de Borgia was unanimously elected Pope, after he had considerably improved all the cathedrals confided to him, even to the last one, that of Erlau in Hungary [103].

From a bull of Innocent VIII we learned that besides his considerable daily expenses, the cardinal had to pay heavy

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102. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 608.

103. If it were true that cardinal de Borgia had a number of illegitimate children, would it not seem more natural for him to spend on his concubine and offspring the immense sums of money, which he thus lavishly donated towards good and pious purposes?

pensions, not only to the archbishop of Saragossa, but also to other cardinals, and when we consider that a goodly portion of his revenues was spent in habitual charities and rich donations, we could not expect his alleged accumulation of gold coin to be very great.

We know, on the contrary, that, more that once, he was on the verge of financial ruin or actually penniless. Such was the case at the end of the year 1463, when pope Pius II allowed him to rent out and collect at once the revenues of his Valencian diocese for the period of the following three years, because, as he plainly states in his bull, the cardinal had contracted burdens of debts, which he was unable to discharge without the Pontiff's requested assistance [104].

He was not in better circumstances a year later, when he was compelled to mortgage his home and seek other byways to procure the necessary funds.

Neither were his finances in a flourishing condition in the year 1484. One of the expressed reasons why pope Innocent VIII bestowed upon him the Cistercian abbey near Valencia was, that he had not the wherewithal to pay his daily expenses.

Two years later he again resorted to the ruinous means of letting for ready money his revenues collectable during the next three years. The Pontiff came to his rescue by granting him quite a number of benefices, and the cardinal gratefully accepted the favors, although some of them did not bring him more than a yearly eight or ten pound small tournois. He did not even disdain to receive grants generally accorded to beginners in the clerical career, mere expectatives, which the Pope gave him in A. D. 1486, while making an allusion to his need of more resources.

This depression of cardinal de Borgia's finances was not,

104. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., | Regest. 490, f° 50.

however, of long duration. He attended to his budgets more closely, and was able, after another year, to indulge again in his spirit of liberality ; and, already in the year 1487, he could afford to transfer upon favorite ecclesiastics two of his not insignificant benefices.

We found no statement of his monetary situation at the time of his elevation to the supreme pontificate ; when he had to give up, as practically incompatible, together with their revenues, all his benefices, offices and dignities which he had held until them. When becoming Pope he had to drop all personal interest in terrestrial wealth, and to administer henceforth the pontifical treasury, for the honor and benefit of the Catholic Church, and of the Pontifical States.

What money or credit cardinal de Borgia may then have possessed naturally went over to the papal private treasury, from which were paid, not only the trifling daily expenditures of the Pontiff, but also the costs of public improvements and, in case of need, all sorts of government expenses, as we may see in the books of bishop Ventura, the private treasurer of pope Alexander VI [105].

It does not seem that cardinal de Borgia " had accumulated immense treasures ", nor that he " was keeping on hand great sums of gold coin ", when he was elected Pope, if we may judge from a notarial act, that was passed in the very beginning of his reign, on the 19th of November, 1492. This act further shows in what wretched financial condition the pontifical government was, when pope Alexander VI assumed it. Following is a summary of the transaction [106].

At the death of pope Innocent VIII, the merchants or bankers doing business with the Roman court, pretended that the papal treasury owed them more than a hundred and

105. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, an Addition to vol. 532.

106. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. 34, no. 13, fo 117vo.

twenty thousand gold ducats ; but the greater of their claim was based on extraordinary accounts, and the legitimate indebtedness did not seem to amount to one-half of that sum. The papal treasurer general, Raphael, cardinal of St. George, had several conferences with the creditors separately ; and, afterwards, Andrew Scalia, head of the banking company of Saul de Saulis, presented an itemized account to the said treasurer and other officials of the papal department of finances, in the presence of the Pope, of three cardinals and of a notary public ; and the whole indebtedness was found to be of thirty-five thousand and seventy gold treasury florins.

The claim of the company de Saulis was offset by two minor sums due to the papal " Camera ", and the greater part of the debts was secured by incomes from spiritual sources, not yet payable. But the same bankers had lately sold to the Pope a ruby and a pearl for the sum of seven thousand and twenty-one florins, which he had been unable to pay. He now promised to make payment before the end of April of the following year, secured the price of the jewels by all the present and future properties of his treasury, and pawned, as further surety, his pontifical precious miter, adorned with gold and stones of great value, which he surrendered into the hands of Andrew Scalia, until the time that he should be able to redeem it.

We may observe here that, if pope Alexander VI had taken with him from the chancery to the Vatican, we do not say " immense treasures ", but a relatively small sum of gold coin, he would have paid for the jewels, rather than to deprive himself of a needed and most costly ornament.

After exhausting all his resources to pledge the payment of debts, the Pope was obliged to leave his miter in the possession of his creditors, till he should have discharged yet other unsecured obligations. He, further, owed more than four

thousand florins to the same Andrew Scalia and to various merchants, for material and money lent for the funeral of the late pope Innocent VIII, and, in particular, another four thousand gold treasury florins to Bert Berti, head of the Stroczi banking house, for debts also incurred on the occasion of the exequies of the late Pontiff.

Such is the notarial act, that may give us a correct idea of the financial situation of pope Alexander VI at the end of his cardinalate and the beginning of his apostolic office [107].

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107. See Document 86b.

CHAPTER XI.

Cardinal de Borgia elected Pope.

ARTICLE I. — PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONCLAVE.

The death of pope Innocent VIII was caused by a long-lasting complication of several diseases. When it became known that his recovery was despaired of, the lawless element of Rome commenced to make bloody disturbances, as usually took place during the vacancies of the apostolic See [1]. The cardinals, however, took prompt and efficacious measures to restore peace, ordering, on the 20th of July, 1492, one hundred crossbowmen to patrol the streets, and they ordered, on the 24th, eight hundred more soldiers for the protection of the Vatican palace, the Borgho and the City. They stationed four squadrons within the Borgho and other troops at a distance of two miles from Rome. As a consequence, when, on the 25th or 26th, the Pope died, the City remained perfectly quiet [2] or free, at least of all party or baronial strife. Valori further relates that the Sacred College of cardinals was working in such harmony that no greater could be desired, and that everything was, presumably, to proceed in peace and good order [3].

The body of the deceased Pontiff, accompanied by the cardinals whom he had created and other prelates of the papal

1. Codex Vatican. 8656, P. I, f° 1 : Conclave Alexandri VI Pont. Max. 1492. Michaele Ferno Mediolanensi auctore ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 271 —Michael Ferno was about that time a " Causarum Procurator " at the Roman court : Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv, Cod. K. K. f° 121vo.

2. Burchard, Diar., t. I, pp. 570, 572, 574 : Dispatches of the Florentine ambassador, Phy. Valori.

3. Ibid., p. 574.

court, was carried, in the morinig of the 26th, to St. Peter's basilica, where it was laid in state and left for the veneration of the people. The following day was spent in preparations for the funeral rites, and, on the 28th, was sung, probably by cardinal de Borgia, the first " Requiem " of the obsequies, which were to last nine consecutive days [4].

Valori assures us that the death and burial of pope Innocent VIII gave no occasion for any tumult in Rome, that every man remained in his shop and at his trade [5] ; but we learn from Ferno and from other witnesses of the conclave of pope Alexander VI [6] that, notwithstanding the vigilance of the armed police, pickpockets, robbers, murderers, incendiaries and all kinds of bad people had gathered in Rome, as if, at the Pontiff's death, the authority of every magistrate had been lost. They were prowling through the city like mad dogs, they stole, assaulted, wounded and murdered several of the common people, while the palaces of cardinals, barons and other prominent citizens were transformed into fortresses. To stop these outrages, the assembled cardinals appointed two supreme officers : one for the city and the other for the Vatican quarter. The latter was a noble Spaniard, Gundisalvus, archbishop of Tarragona.

When the obsequies were over, cardinal Giuliano della Rovere celebrated the customary Holy Mass in honor of the Holy Ghost, on the 6th day of August [7]. All the cardinals then in Rome were present at the august function and, thereafter, listened to a sermon preached to them.

The Sacred College had chosen, as orator of the day, Bernardino de Carvajal, a Spaniard, at the time bishop of

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4. Ferno, ubi supra ; Valori ap. Burchard, Diar, t. I, p. 575.
5. Ibid.
6. Rome, Bibl. Corsiniana, Cod. 752 and Cod. 226, etc ; Cfr. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 271, footn. 3.
7. Hier. Porcius, ap. Burchard, t. II, p. 608.

Badajoz, " Pacensis " and ambassador of the kings of Spain in Rome. He was transferred, on the 27th of March, 1493, by pope Alexander VI, from Badajoz to Carthagena [8]. Ferno [9] relates that the discourse [10] was highly praised for its learning and elegance. So earnest, plain and outspoken was the great orator, that his advices could not fail to make an impression on the minds of his most reverend hearers. He spoke at length of choosing for Pontiff the best man ; most pointedly and not in vain, Porcius says [11].

We should not pass by this important oration without recalling some of its principal thoughts and passages. He commences by expressing his confidence that the Holy Ghost will assist in the election of a Pontiff, under the present calamities and dangers of the Church. He then begs pardon of the cardinals, if he should admonish them with too much liberty, because it is through their orders that he ascended the pulpit ; not to flatter, but to propose a remedy for the evils that afflict the Church. " It is fallen, it is fallen ", he exclaims, " that glorious majesty of the Church of Rome, which used to stand so high ! The color of her countenance is changed, from the daughter of Sion all her beauty is departed, and she, who once truly was the teacher of doctrine, the school of virtue, rich in saints and learned, Alas ! she is now, to a great extent devoid of all that, and filled with the bitterness of all her subjects ". He thus continues making an unsparing denunciation of the vices of even the highest ministers of religion. " Hence it is, Fathers ", he says, " that at the present time we are suffering from even deeper wounds. These vices expose us to the disobedience of our inferiors, to

8. Porcius, iid. ; Gams, Series Episcoporum, p. 11, where a correction is needed ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic. : Alex. VI, Bullar., an. I, t. V, Regest. 776, f° 73.

9. Ubi supra.

10. Which was printed several times—also in Martene and Durand's Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum, vol. II, p. 1774, seq.

11. ap. Burchard, t. II, p. 608.

the contempt of peoples and princes, to the mockeries and plunder of the Turks ; for, while we are engaged with our pleasures,our ambitions and our cupidities, the majesty of the ecclesiastical throne vanishes, and all vigilance of pastoral care is thrust aside. What is the cause, Fathers, of all those evils ? I answer : It is the head. Under a sickly head every member languishes. And who sets up for us the head of the world ? Your College does it. Admit this, I beg you. Universal welfare and universal ruin of the whole world is, therefore, your concern. Understand what a burden rests on you today ! You have the option between the supreme merit of choosing a good pastor and the greatest blame of electing a bad one. There is not, in the whole list of crimes, one equal to that of electing an evil ruler of the world. With him, indeed, will come all evils, all crimes ; and of these a wicked elector shall be guilty. You shall give an account of them, Fathers, at the tribunal of the severe Judge. Think that you shall die, Fathers, and this, soon. If things eternal do not affect you, attend, at least, to the preservation of your temporal dignity ; do not incur the blame of princes and of the whole Church, by electing a Roman Pontiff for the sake of private interests. Appoint to the command of Peter's bark a helmsman who may deservedly be called and be the Vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter ; the spouse, rector and pastor of the Universal Church. But somebody may say : It is enough to choose a good man, against whom canon law has no objection. I am of quite a different opinion in regard to this highest possible election. St. Jerome says : Let all know that he who is the more learned, the holier, the more eminent in every virtue, he must be elected to the supreme priesthood. If the rules of Paul, writing to Timothy, must be observed at the election of any bishop, how much more should they be attended to at the choice of the bishop of

bishops ! Hence, does the holy pope Symmachus say : He must be considered as most contemptible, he who is the most eminent in honors and does not excel in holiness and learning. If, therefore, Fathers, it always was a duty to prefer the best man, how much more it is so at our time, when, in consequence of the loss of her authority and liberties and of the need of reform of the Church, the path of government is become harder for him ; so true is this, that the Church seems to be in need of a Pontiff, who is not only a successor of Peter in the plenitude of the power of the keys, but also in the fulness of the gift of miracles ; since it will be little short of a miracle to lift the Church from so deep a ruin, almost from a dunghill. Remember the fifth rule of the Apostle ; give us a prudent man, who will peacefully reform the Church and reinstate her in her rights and liberties. Give us, Fathers, a pastor to whom you can yourselves justly submit. The princes of the earth admonish you with the words of Valentinian : Establish on the pontifical See a man such as to whom we may, while we govern our States, sincerely bend our heads, and whose admonitions we may, after offending as men, accept like a healing medicine. Give heed to all this, Fathers, when proceeding to your secret and so sacred work, to so supreme an election. Set aside ambition, revenge, rivalry and all ill will. I think that it is not without divine mysterious significance, that this election has commenced on the festivity of the Transfiguration of Our Lord. Come then, Fathers, be transformed into other men, be transformed and transform the Church, so that her countenance may shine as the sun and her garments become white as snow. And may I not understand, by the countenance, the head and spouse of the Church ; and by the garments, her members ? Have confidence, Fathers, and trust in Christ Our Lord. He will illumine you and help you, if you aim at doing what is good, for

he takes great interest in his Church. Have courage, Fathers, you will not be wanting in divine enlightenment, concord and inspiration. The whole Church prays continuously for you, these days. You will give us a pastor who will reform and lift up the fallen Church, and, under his government, she will dare to say to the evil spirit : Rejoice not, my enemy, over me ; for, if I have fallen through idleness, ill repute and sin, I will stand up under an excellent pastor—that may be given us through Christ Our Lord, who is blessed forever. Amen. "

Such was bishop Carvajal's stirring confirmation of the earnest directions given to the cardinals by Leonello de Chieregatis or Clericato, bishop of Concordia, during the impressive ceremonies of the burial of pope Innocent VIII [12].

After praising the late Pontiff, he also spoke of the sorrows of the Church, and mentioned in particular the ruin of the Pontifical States, through internal strife ; but he hopefully added : " You can easily console her, if, putting aside personal affection, intrigue and pressure, you co-operate with God's will, and consider only the holiness, learning and experience of affairs of the one whom you may choose for the next Pontiff. The whole Church has her eyes upon you, Excellent Fathers ; give her a Pontiff who may draw after him to salvation all christian nations, through the very odor of his good name. You will easily find him, if you listen to pope Leo, who instructs you in almost the same terms as Plato does : Choose the one who has passed all his youth, from his childhood to his maturer years, in acquiring ecclesiastical knowledge, and who stands approved by his former life ; for there is not to be doubted of the success of a man to whom is due the reward of a higher position for his many

12. Ap. Martene et Durand, Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum, vol. II, p. 1768.

labors, his chaste morals and his strenuous deeds. Shudder, Glorious Fathers, at these words of the Lord, in order that he may never apply them to you : ' They have made a king for themselves, but not through me ; a leader, but not with my counsel '. The counsel of the Lord, according to St. Jerome, is, that the best of all, the most learned and the holiest should purely and simply, without any ambages, be elected to the supreme pontificate. Fulfill the sacred canons, and undoubtedly the Church will flourish again under the new looked for successor—through the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed forever, Amen ".

We may here remark that, if cardinal de Borgia truly had been the profligate that his enemies pretend he was, the very opposite of the candidate put forward by both orators, he could have had no chance whatever of receiving the vote of any cardinal paying the least attention to the urgent discourses ; and yet, he received every vote cast at the conclave. Again, if he had been a wicked man, he would have resented the sermons, as intended to preclude the attainment of his ambition ; and would afterwards have taken revenge upon the two bishops ; but, on the contrary, he rewarded them for having, in fact, prepared his unanimous election. Already on the 28th of November, 1492, he granted a canonry and a rectory to Leonello, bishop of Concordia [13], and, soon after, made him his domestic referendary and legate to emperor-elect Maximilian [14]. Bernardino Lopez de Carvajal was not only promoted to the diocese of Carthagena during the month of March, 1493, but even created a cardinal on the 20th of the following September [15].

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13. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. I, t. IV, Regest. 775, f° 29.

14. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. : Introitus et Exitus, vol. 528, Sept. 13, 1496 ; Munich, K. Reichsarchiv. Regesta 1497, II May 24th, 1496.

15. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste. Bd. III, s. 300 and footn. 3.

The conclave for the election of the next Pontiff was to be at the Vatican, in a chapel called the Sixtine and in the adjoining halls, all securely locked and guarded against any interference from without or any disclosure of transactions from within. The two sides of the chapel were partitioned with green curtains [16], into as many cells as there were cardinals in Rome, and each of these cells was assigned by lot to the several cardinals, who used them at night to sleep, but walked about in the other apartments during the daytime. The resident ambassadors of princes had been placed at the head of the guard of the conclave, and, as trusty janitors, they kept secure the sacred convention [17]. The Florentine ambassador, Valori, mentions also, as watchmen, the prelates and the barons with the prominent citizens of Rome [18], that is, probably, as it was usual, the prelates of the palace guarded the doors of the apartments, the Roman barons the ones next to the former and the ambassadors kept general watch over all avenues.

ARTICLE II. — CARDINALS ELECTORS.

On the 6th day of the month of August, immediately after listening to bishop de Carvajal, the cardinals went to the Vatican and retired behind locked doors to the Sixtine chapel. They were twenty-three in number, (Brosch and Gregorovius mistake in giving twenty and twenty-five, respectively). The number of twenty-three is sufficiently established by the " Acta Consistorialia " [19], and they were, in the order followed by Ferno and most ancient reports :

16. Hier. Porcius, Comment.
17. Ferno, Conclave, Bibl. Vatic. Latin., Cod. 8656, Pars I, post init. and Cod. 8407.
18. Dispatch of Aug. 10th, 1492, ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 814.
19. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 272, footn. 3.

Roderic de Borgia, with whom we have become acquainted.

Oliverius Caraffa, of a highly noble Neapolitan house, was a very rich cardinal, favored with several dioceses, abbeys and benefices ; but, liberal as he was, he spent his income. especially in Naples and in Rome, on expensive works of piety and charity, a long list of which is given by Ciaconius [20]. He had, in particular, adorned and richly endowed, in the church of " Santa Maria supra Minervam ", a chapel in honor of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin and of St. Thomas Aquinas, and he afterwards requested the Pontiff to enrich it with an indulgence that would increase the devotion of the people. On the 19th of May, 1493, pope Alexander VI accorded the favor with a bull, whose preamble is a hymn to the Mother of God, and by which he lauded the cardinal's piety, and granted forever a plenary indulgence to all the faithful who, duly repentant and having confessed, would, after his own example, visit the chapel, on the feasts of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin or of St. Thomas [21]. Pastor [22] and Loughlin [23] copy from Reumont who says that Caraffa was a jurist, a theologian, antiquary and a statesman; and Ciaconius said, before them, that there was hardly, in Rome or in the whole Christian world, a man, remarkable for his knowledge or literary talents, who had not experienced Oliverius's liberality. The ancient historian adds that he built in Naples a very large house, which he called the " Sapientia ", in imitation of the Roman university of that name, and into which the penniless young men of the city, who were desirous of learning, were admitted to free board and to free tuition under the most proficient teachers. Pastor says that Cortesius praises his prudence, his honesty and blameless life [24].

20. Vitae Pontiff. Roman., t. II, col. 1097.
21. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. I, t. V, Regest. 776, fo 37vo.
22. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 347.
23. Amer. Cathol. Quart. Rev. an. 1900, p. 255.
24. Ubi supra.

William Roscoe [25] calls him one of the most respectable members of the College, and already Panvinius wrote that he was renowned for his virtues and the first among his peers in public estimation. Pope Julius II expressed his profound grief at the cardinal's death, and the master of ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, entered this note in his diary : " A holy, irreproachable man has departed this life [26] ".

Baptista Zeno was of a patrician family of Venice. He led a blameless life and was created a cardinal by his uncle, pope Paul II, who did not, however, allow him any undue influence nor grant him great riches [27]. Ciaconius [28] says of him : He was a remarkable man, who united to ancestral nobility a holy, moral life. He was commendatory abbot of St. Zeno's monastery in Verona, whose church he restored and adorned. He built St. Francis' church in Venice, and is said to have expended fifty thousand ducats in repairing churches and chapels in Verona and elsewhere. Thus was he accustomed, in his good fortune, to spend with a generous heart his riches, for the honor of God. He was wont to say that the day was lost on which he had not rendered a service to someone.

Giovanni Michiel or Michaelius was also a Venetian nobleman, of irreproachable conduct, a son of another sister of pope Paul II, who raised him to the cardinalitial dignity and treated him like his cousin, Zeno. He was, according to Ciaconius [29], a man of great intellect, erudition and piety, a patron of the learned, and was called, by the people of his time, the father of the poor. His love of religion and country manifested itself especially in his zeal against the Turks ; he would shed tears at the recital of their barbarous incursions

25. Life of Leo X, vol. I, p. 26.
26. Ciaconius, ubi supra.
27. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 348.
28. Vitae Pontiff. Roman., t. II, col. 1112.
29. Vitae Pontiff. Roman., t. II, col. 1114.

and was willing to be delegated anywhere, to work for the good of Christianity and of Venice [30].

Giuliano della Rovere, the future pope Julius II, was born near Savona and made cardinal of St. Peter's Bands by his uncle, pope Sixtus IV. Ostia was the last of the numerous dioceses bestowed upon him. From a poor boy and Franciscan friar, he had grown to be a very rich prelate, enjoying also the revenues of several abbeys and of benefices without number. He had had much influence and power with the late Pontiff and had made such use of them, that he was feared more than loved, even among his colleagues. A protector of arts and sciences, he was rather a politician and soldier than a churchman [31]. Yet, it is our opinion that Pastor blames him to excess, while granting too much confidence to the dispatches of ambassadors, who denigrated pope Julius II, when he followed the policy of pope Alexander VI in regard to the rebellious lords of the Pontifical States.

George de Costa, called the cardinal of Lisbon, or of Portugal, is said to have been one of the richest princes of the Church when he died, one hundred years old, in A.D.1503 [32]. Pastor [33] and Sägmüller think so well of him, that in their opinion, his succession to pope Innocent VIII would have been an extraordinarily good fortune for the Church. Ciaconius [34] calls him a man famous for his learning and prudence, his talents and piety. He was the spiritual and temporal adviser to the king of Portugal. With great generosity he erected and endowed a chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo, and, moved by his love to the Blessed Virgin, he left his

30. Albèri, Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti, ser. 2, vol. 3, p. 3.

31. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 550.

32. Pastor, Ibid., Bd. II, s. 549 —Ciaconius states that he died on the 19th of September, 1508, at the age of one hundred and two years.

33. Ibid., Bd. s. 275 and footn. 6.

34. Vitae Pontiff. Roman., t. III, col. 55.

earthly goods to her adjoining monastery. Already Gaspar Jongelinus counts him among the great men of the Cistercian Order, and relates that, because of his learning and experience of affairs, he was first named a bishop of Elva and then an archbishop of Lisbon.

After these cardinal-bishops follow the cardinal-priests.

Jerome Basso della Rovere, born in Liguria of John William Basso and of a sister of pope Sixtus IV, was by this Pontiff created a cardinal, often designated by the name of cardinal of Recanati. He was a good doctor and a prelate highly praised [35]. Ciaconius [36] says that he was meek of disposition and free from all vice and blemish ; was always well disposed towards virtuous people, whom he loved and wished to help, but he had not an abundance of the goods of this world. Having accepted the protectorate of the House of Loreto, he was led by his tender affection towards the Virgin Mother of God, to complete the church commenced by pope Paul II. He also furnished it and procured for it the best of priests. At one time Turks attacked this church, but were miraculously put to flight. In order to prevent further danger, cardinal Basso protected if afterwards with bastions and gave it the appearance of a fortress. Ciaconius enumerates many more of his good works. Folietta wrote that this cardinal was an excellent man, whom pope Julius II was always proud to have as a relation, and whose steady life, simplicity and purity of conduct and extraordinary zeal for religion were unanimously praised by all.

Domenico della Rovere, born in Turin, was created cardinal of St. Clement by his uncle, pope Sixtus IV. He lived an exemplary life, and offered himself to do anything in his power for the defense of Christianity against the Turks [37].

35. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 424, 550 and footn. 1.

36. Ubi supra, t. III, col. 64.

37. Albèri, Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti, ser. 2, vol. 3, p. 3.

He built for himself on the Scossacavalli square a large residence, the half of which he gave to the hospital of " San Spirito ", and a villa near Ponte Molle in Rome. He constructed and endowed, in " Santa Maria del Popolo ", a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. Jerome. He also erected the cathedral of Montefiascone and the metropolitan church of Turin, and restored most of the churches confided to his care [38].

Paul Fregoso belonged to one of the most powerful families of Genoa. He entered the clerical ranks and became archbishop of his native city, although it is doubtful whether he lived as a cleric. Rich, self-willed and a skilful party-leader, he was active in the turmoils and revolutions of Genoa and, at one time, was both archbishop and doge of the republic. That the Church might benefit by his talents and social position, pope Sixtus IV made him a cardinal and the admiral of his fleet against the Turks. Fregoso recovered Otranto, but would, after that, obey no Pope any more [39].

Giovanni Conti, de Comitibus, was born in Rome from the baronial house of the Conti of Valmontone. He was a quiet, old archbishop of Conza in the kingdom of Naples and universally respected in Rome [40], when pope Sixtus IV, in the year 1483, in consideration of his powerful relations, created him a cardinal [41].

John James Sclafetano was born in Milan, on the 10th of September, 1451, became bishop of Parma, and, on the 15th of November, 1483, was made a cardinal by pope Sixtus IV. Pastor calls him a worldly prelate [42], and after transposing the figures indicating his age at this time, is scandalized at

38. Ciaconius, Vitae Pontiff. Roman., t. III, col. 76 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, bd. II, s. 551.
39. Ciaconius, ubi supra, t. III, col. 78 ; Pastor, ubi supra, Bd. II, s. 502, seq.
40. Clément de Vebron, Les Borgia, p. 148.
41. Cfr. Pastor, Ubi supra, Bd. II, s. 552 ; Ciaconius.
42. Ibid. Bd. III, s. 260.

the young creature's promotion [43]. Vincenzo Forcella [44] has copied his tumular inscription : " John James Sclafetano, a Milanese, cardinal of the holy Roman Church, of the title of St. Stephen on the Coelian hill, called the cardinal of Parma, was seated among the Fathers by the Supreme Pontiff Sixtus IV, on account of his talents, reliability, dexterity and his other mental and physical qualities. He was in the possession of a considerable fortune, which he always used with modesty and incomparable honesty, for the space of fourteen years. Philip, a knight of the Order of Jerusalem, erected this monument in memory of his most beloved brother, who was born the 10th of September, 1451, died..... the 8th of December, 1497 ". Ciaconius [45] copies the inscription.

Lawrence Cybò was a nephew of pope Innocent VIII and born in Sicily. Pastor [46] calls him an able and worthy man. Ciaconius [47] says of him : As he was wonderfully talented, of pleasing manners and great learning, he was named archbishop of Benevento. In that state and position he lived an honorable life, so as to merit universal praise. The same historian also gives a portion of the inscription on the cardinal's funeral monument, preserved by Forcella [48] : " Lawrence Cybò, bishop of Palestrina, cardinal of St. Mark, archbishop of Benevento, a nephew of the Sovereign Pontiff Innocent VIII and an exemplary Christian, has constantly so conducted his life on earth that, mindful of his dignities, he never receded from justice, fidelity or piety. When in his fifty-third year he died as he had lived, a most holy man ".

Ardicinus della Porta, born from a noble house in Novara, was, because of his learning and spotless life, requested, at

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43. Ibid., Bd. II, s. 552.
44. Iscrizioni, vol. V, p. 22, no. 57.
45. Vita Pontiff. Roman., t. III, col. 85.
46. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 256.
47. Ubi supra, t. III, col. 124.
48. Iscrizioni, vol. V, p. 391, no. 1495.

an early age, by his fellow citizens to be their archbishop. While other prelates, afraid for their lives, did not dare to speak of the interdict, under which pope Paul II had placed the Florentines, Ardicinus published it fearlessly. Created a cardinal, he lived a model life at the Roman court, liberal especially towards the poor too bashful to beg. Averse to riches and dignities, he requested the Pontiff and the Sacred College to let him resign all his honors and revenues and become a simple, poor friar of the Order of the Camaldulese. His request was long refused, till, finally, pope Innocent VIII gave his consent, in the month of April, 1492. The cardinals, however, loath to be deprived of a colleague of his worth, insisted with the Pope to revoke his permission. Cardinal de la Porta humbly supplicated the Pontiff, through a letter as only a saint could write, to let him be a modest, obedient and poor monk. But he wrote in vain, and was obliged to resume his red hat, a month before the conclave took place. He died on the 4th of the following month of November, admired by all that knew him [49]. Even an Infessura has praised his virtues [50].

Antoniottus Pallavicini was born in Genoa in the year 1442. He was very talented, learned and prudent, and was esteemed already by pope Sixtus IV, because of the services he had rendered as a papal legate and the great glory acquired during his past life. Pastor counts him among the able and worthy men created cardinals by pope Innocent VIII in A. D. 1489 [51]. Whenever we see him appear later on, he stands on the side of right and is doing good work ; nor is it any wonder that several of his colleagues were in favor of his elevation to the pontificate at the succeeding conclaves [52].

49. Ciaconius, Vitae Pontiff. Roman., t. III, col. 126.
50. Cfr. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1492, no. XXXIV.
51. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 256.
52. Cfr. Ciaconius, Ubi supra, col. 129.

The Venetian ambassador, Polo Cappello, reported to the Seigniory [53] that the cardinal of St. Praxedes, Pallavicini, was a very good man ; but he adds : Yet, he is doing nothing, he wants to be Pope and knows well how to dissimulate. We might ask, why these slurs ? The answer is the ambassador's last word : He is a capital enemy of our republic. That means : I cannot unreservedly speak well of him, because he is hated in Venice as a great man of our rival Genoa.

Maffaeus or Matthaeus Gherardo was born in Venice, in the year 1410. Ciaconius [54] gives a sketch of his life, after the writings of Peter Delphino. He entered the Order of the Camaldulese when yet a youth. Elected their prelate by unanimous vote, he fostered and increased religious regularity. Peter Delphino, who was long under his direction, never saw his equal in protracted devotions, in fastings, in silence and retirement. He passed his free time in reading Holy Scripture, in prayer and divine contemplation. What money he could dispose of, he freely gave to the poor and the sick. From Superior general of the Camaldulese he was made Patriarch of Venice. I often called on him, Peter Delphino says, and I never found about him anything that did not indicate the piety and modesty, the humility and kindness of a most holy prelate. He was, in the year 1489, named a cardinal " in petto ", but with full cardinalitial rights, should the Pontiff die before publishing him. Peter Delphino relates that, at the demise of pope Innocent VIII, the Sacred College published his creation and summoned him to the conclave. Malipiero says that Gherardo hurried to go and do his duty , after borrowing two thousand ducats from the Seigniory of Venice [55]. He sailed to Pesaro and was from

53. Albèri, Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti, ser. 2, vol. 3, p 3.

54. Vitae Pontiff. Roman., t. III, col. 132.

55. Annal. Veneti, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I, t. VII, p. II, p. 690.

there carried to Rome in a litter. Here he received the red hat and, hardly able to stand on his feet, went into the conclave with the other cardinals [56]. On the 6th of November he left Rome, accompanied by Peter Delphino, on his return journey to Venice, but reached no farther than Terni, where he died on the 14th. He departed, Delphino writes [57], as he lived. Would to God that I may die the death of this just man. You shall pray for this our common father, who was our great model of regular life. Malipiero relates [58] that his corpse arrived in Venice on the 22d of September and was buried with the usual solemnity.

The cardinal-deacons were :

Francis de' Todeschini-Piccolomini, a son of pope Pius II's sister, and the future Pontiff, Pius III, was a young man, but remarkable for his advanced education, manifold abilities and honorable conduct, when his uncle created him a cardinal, in the year 1460 [59]. During the forty-three years of his cardinalate he led an exemplary life. His mornings were devoted to study and prayer, and at noon he commenced to give audiences, to which even the humblest callers were easily admitted. In regard to eating and drinking, he was so moderate that he took a supper only every other day [60]. When ambassador Antonio Giustinian announced Piccolomini's election, he added : If we consider his past life we may hope that his reign will be honorable and useful to the Church of God and to all Christianity [61]. Among all historians, ancient and recent, Gregorovius stands alone, though blindly copied by Brosch and Creighton, to impeach the moral char-

56. Bibl. Vatic., Cod. 8656, Par. I, post initium : Ferno, Conclave ; Cfr. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1492, no. XXXIV.
57. Epistol. Volumen, lib. 3, Epist. XLII.
58. Ubi supra.
59. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 205.
60. Id. Ibid., Bd. III, s. 515, quoting Sigismondo de' Conti.
61. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. II, p. 199.

acter of cardinal Piccolomini. Pastor has written one of his best and most learned pages to refute the unreliable accuser, namely, the footnote of page 515, in his third volume of the History of the Popes. This cardinal was invariably loyal to pope Alexander VI, and assisted him at his deathbed [62].

Raphael Sansoni-Riario, born in Savona, was a grandnephew of pope Sixtus IV, who created him a cardinal at the age of seventeen years. During the following year, 1478, he visited Florence, where he stopped at the villa of the Pazzi family, and thus gave occasion to all Protestant historians to represent him and the Pope, his uncle, as accomplices to the famous conspiracy of the Pazzi, although the young man was not aware of what was going on. He filled in a creditable manner the important office of papal camerlingo since the year 1483. When, afterwards, pope Alexander VI imagined that he could reform the Roman court and the whole Church by the publication of a bull, he named Sansoni-Riario to help him prepare the momentous document, as being one of the " six best cardinals who before all else keep God before their eyes ". Sansoni enjoyed great revenues, but he made good use of them. It is he who built the vast and beautiful palace, called the Cancellaria, occupied till this day by papal officials [63].

John Baptist Savelli was born in Rome of the baronial family of the Savelli allied with the Colonna. In the year 1468 and again in 1470 he was a papal notary and governor of Bologna, and gave satisfaction to pope Paul II, who promoted him to the legation of the March of Ancona and created him a cardinal " in petto ". Through the influence of his political adversary, cardinal Latinus Orsini, he was refused

62. Gröne, Papstgesch., Bd. II, s. 316.

63. Ciaconius, Vitae Pontiff. Roman., t. III, col. 70; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II and III.

publication and a cardinal's rights, not only by the Sacred College at the demise of pope Paul II, but also for ten years by pope Sixtus IV, who, after Orsini's death, gave him the red hat, well earned by his honorable conduct and his administrative talents. He was further employed as legate of the papal fleet against the Turks and as governor of the province of Perugia. During the reign of pope Innocent VIII he acted in accord with the Pope ; and, together with cardinal de Borgia, procured peace with Naples. He also possessed the confidence of his colleagues, being made by them the guardian of the valuables of the Supreme Pontiff, who was thought to be dying in the year 1489 [64].

Giovanni Colonna was born in Rome from the baronial house, that hardly ever was without having someone of its members in the Sacred College. He was created a cardinal by pope Sixtus IV in the year 1480, and was a zealous defender of pope Innocent VIII in his war with Ferdinand of Naples and the Orsini faction. A talented, rich and active prelate, he kept free from special blame, but was more devoted to the interests of his relatives than to those of the reigning Pontiff.

John Baptist Orsini was a son of the other most powerful Roman family, which was in perpetual hostility with the Colonna barons ; and, like these, seemed to have from custom a claim upon a cardinal's hat for one of its scions. When in fear of open rebellion of the Colonna, pope Sixtus IV, on the 15th of November, 1483, named John Baptist to fill the vacant seat of the lately deceased Latinus Orsini. This young prelate was a wealthy and active partisan of his relations. He was a papal governor of the March of Ancona, but of his other clerical achievements we could learn but little.

Ascanius Maria Sforza, a Milanese and brother of Lodovico il Moro, duke of Milan, was, for political reasons created a

64. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, | Bd. II and III.

cardinal by pope Sixtus IV, in the year 1484 and, in the same year, appointed by the next Pontiff as governor-legate of the Patrimony province. He seems to have been a special friend of Roderic de Borgia ; for, shortly after de Borgia's elevation, he, Giuliano della Rovere and only two more cardinals partook at the Vatican of a sumptuous supper. He lived magnificently as a real prince. He was an able statesman, a friend of literature and art, charitable to the poor and of clean morals. The love for his ambitious and unscrupulous brother led him later to disobey pope Alexander VI, and incur long years of misfortune [65].

Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Pope Leo X, was a son of Lorenzo, the ruler of Florence. He was a good and studious young man, eighteen years of age when he entered the conclave.

Finally, Frederick Sanseverino, a son of the famous " Condottiere ", count Roberto, was named a cardinal by pope Innocent VIII in the year 1489, but not proclaimed. He arrived in Rome on the eve of the Pontiff's death and received the red hat from the Sacred College. He was little known at this time, but in later years his conduct proved his elevation to have been a mistake.

Such were the twenty-two electors of pope Alexander VI.

Four cardinals were absent from Rome : Lewis John del Milà, a first cousin of cardinal de Borgia ; Peter Gundisalvo de Mendoza, archbishop of Toledo ; Andrew d'Espinay, archbishop of Bordeaux, and Peter d'Aubusson, grandmaster of the Knights of Jerusalem, of which Order Roderic de Borgia was the pleasing protector.

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65. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, I Bd. III, s. 264 seq.

ARTICLE III. — THE CANDIDATES OF THE TEMPORAL PRINCES.

After entering the Sixtine chapel on Monday, the 6th of August, the Most Reverend electors did not, on that day, enter upon any important business to further the election. It took them the remainder of the day to inspect the place of their temporary seclusion, install themselves in their cells and prepare the serious work of the following day.

It had been for a long time the practice of cardinals assembled in conclave to stipulate certain obligations, by which they intended to foster their own interests and increase their power and importance, to the detriment of the one who should be chosen for the supreme pontificate. These agreements were null and void in themselves, as destructive of the divinely established monarchical constitution of the Church ; and the cardinals were, no doubt, well aware of their futility, after seeing them set aside as often as they were made ; but they expected them to exert, at least, some influence upon the counsels of the future Pontiff, should he be desirous of taking any measure contrary to their wishes. So also were, on the second day of this conclave, certain provisions agreed upon and sworn. This is evident from a bull of pope Alexander VI, dated the 31st of August, 1492, to his cousin, Giovanni de Borgia, by which he created him a cardinal, notwithstanding a stipulation of the recent conclave, yet with the unanimous consent of the Sacred College. In this bull he expresses his personal apprehension of the apparently violated duty and, for greater security, dispenses himself from its observance ; while the cardinals again approve both his interpretation as their own, and his act of independence ; and, to this effect, they sign the bull together with him [66].

When the preliminary compact was completed and secured

66. See Document 22.

by oath, the cardinals commenced their " pratiche ", that is, their inquiries and their open and private consultations regarding the possible candidates. These were made within the secret conclave, and it was, at least, useless to reveal them after the election was over. The reports of these particulars are, therefore, few and scanty.

We know, however, that others, who had no voice in the election, the Italian and other princes, were earnestly at work, long before, to secure a Pontiff that would be favorable to their private interests. Giuliano della Rovere was a great friend of Charles VIII of France, who was thinking already of the conquest of Naples ; and Cavalieri wrote, on August 6th, that the King had deposited in a bank two hundred thousand ducats, and Genoa, one hundred thousand, to defray the campaign of that cardinal [67]. Ferdinand of Naples, considering Giuliano as the strongest rival of cardinal de Borgia, whom he dreaded and hated, did all he could to further the election of the former, or of one recommended by him. To this end he put to work his envoy, Jovian Pontano, and his captains, Fabricio and Prospero Colonna, besides Virginio Orsini [68], whom he admonished, according to Çurita [69], " to consider where things were going to end if this man, Roderic de Borgia, should ascend to the pontifical throne, and what he might do while on it, having always been his adversary ; if Innocent, weak as he was, had tried to do that which was well known, what would not do this one, who had energy, brains and resources, and who would follow the example of Calixtus " ? They, therefore, combined to favor the cardinal of St. Peter's Bands, Giuliano della Rovere [70]. Lodovico il Moro, regent of the duchy of

67. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 273, footn. 4.

68. Id. Ibid., s. 274 ; Sigismondo de' Conti, Storie, t. II, p. 56.

69. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. I, Cap. XI, f° 15.

70. Cfr. Valori, ap. Burchard, Diarium, t. I, p. 576.

Milan, whose brother, Ascanio, was an influential cardinal, was in strained relations with the king of Naples [71], and, consequently, in favor of the most promising competitor of cardinal Giuliano or any of his choice.

The other princes and powers of Italy had, likewise, their personal preferences and dislikes ; and their ambassadors were busily working, and reporting to gratify their masters' wishes ; although their efforts were useless and their statements of the election prospects, fanciful and unreliable. How little they effected and how little they knew of the future is exemplified by the dispatch of Guidantonio Vespucci, who wrote to Florence that the cardinal of Novarra had no chance of being elected ; because he had a son, who, being lawfully born, was no disgrace to the cardinal ; but his parent, if elected, might grant him some State and thus cause disturbance in Italy. Neither is there any ground to fear, he subjoined, that the Vicechancellor, de Borgia, be chosen ; for he is a haughty man and of suspected reliability [72]. We might observe, in passing by, that, should Vespucci ever have heard of cardinal de Borgia's disreputable paternity, he evidently would have expressed it, as the most powerful argument for his confident prognostication. But the calumny of pope Alexander's former immoral life was not as yet invented nor uttered before his death. The Florentine ambassador, Phy. Valori, wrote already before the demise of pope Innocent VIII [73] : " The exertions of the cardinals "—of the ambassadors, would have been more correct—" are very lively to make a new Pope ; and the ones, most frequently mentioned for the papacy , are Caraffa, de Costa, de la Porta and Zeno ; there are some who would have Piccolomini, and others, de Borgia. I will give you no particulars of those

71. Pastor, Ubi supra, s. 273.
72. Burchard, Diar., t. I, pp. 505, 507.
73. Ap. Burchard, Diar., t. I, p. 572.

' pratiche ', in order not to cause any confusion to you or to myself, because they have no end and each hour brings many changes ". On the 28th of July, he wrote [74] that " the cardinals Caraffa and Zeno had gained much in favor, yet there was no ground for any certainty, because those brains change about every hour ". On the 3d of August [75] : " Caraffa stands at the head of the candidates, de la Porta and Zeno are seconds, de Costa is the third ". On the 6th, he reduces the list to two : " Caraffa and de Costa " [76]. Giovanni Andrea Boccaccio, bishop of Modena and envoy of Ferrara, wrote to the duchess Eleanora [77] his list of thirteen candidates, numerous enough not to expose her to the danger of disappointment.

From those and similar reports one thing appears certain, that, namely, the election result was not a prearranged matter, and that the cardinals entered the Sixtine chapel free to cast their votes according to the dictates of their conscience.

When looking over one another, they saw but one difficulty, that of knowing the colleague best fitted for the supreme pontificate ; for there were a dozen among them worthy to sit in St. Peter's Chair ; and of these, half a dozen might have been considered, each one, as being the best man. An evident disadvantage, however, was to de Costa, a Portuguese, and to de Borgia, a Spaniard, the fact that of the twenty-three electors twenty-one were born Italians, to whom the rule of a foreigner must naturally have been undesirable.

Çurita [78] and Mariana [79] assert that the Sacred College was divided into two parties : the one led by Giuliano della Rovere, and the other, by the cardinals de Borgia and Sforza; but the

74. Ibid., p. 575.
75. Ibid., p. 577.
76. Ibid., p. 577.
77. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 813.
78. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. I, Cap. XI, f° 14.
79. Hist. d'Espagne, t. V, p. 122.

contemporaries, like Valori, knew nothing of this detail. Later historians make more manifest mistakes in their reports of the conclave. Thus de l'Epinois asserts [80] that the first day was taken up in making the final provisions for the peace of Rome and of the provinces, the second, by the conclave compact ; that the first scrutiny was commenced on the 10th of August and cardinal de Borgia elected on the 11th.

ARTICLE IV. — CARDINAL DE BORGIA ELECTED UNANIMOUSLY.

Phylip Valori [81] wrote to Florence on the 10th of August that, from certain indications, three ballots were known to have taken place in the conclave : one on Wednesday morning, another on Thursday, and the third in the morning of Friday, the 10th. The indications likely consisted in the tiny emissions of smoke from the conclave chimney, caused by the burning of the paper ballots cast at an unsuccessful election. The ambassador adds that the votes were very scattering, yet the cardinals Caraffa and de Costa were the most favored, he says ; but he does not tell us how he learned this secret particular.

Michael Ferno [82] also mentions scrutinies not favorable to cardinal de Borgia, and Hartman Schedel [83], then in Rome, relates that, " at the first, the second and the third ballots, each cardinal followed his inclinations in casting his vote for such as were among the most excellent of the Sacred College; because all had in view the public good and the honor of the Roman Church. After that, they considered more carefully the reasons to guide them in their choice, compared the merits of the candidates, and weighed in the balance the con-

80. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 387.
81. Ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 814.
82. Cod. Vatic. 8656, p. I : Conclave Alex. VI.
83. Munich, K. Staatsbibl., Cod. Latin. 716, f° 124.

ditions of the times ; and they came to the conclusion that Roderic, the vicechancellor, must be preferred to all others. Thus was he held in the judgment of all his colleagues as the one most worthy of the pontificate,... and the following day », August the 11th, 1492 [84], " after Holy Mass, he was declared Sovereign Pontiff by the written ballots of all the cardinals, not one of whom dissented : a thing that otherwise seldom happens ". The Roman lawyer, Camillo Beneimbene, gives the same detail, almost like Schedel, in his poem written for the occasion of pope Alexander's coronation [85].

The fact of cardinal de Borgia's unanimous election would evidently be his most complete justification, if he should stand in need of any ; and it is the strongest approval and the highest praise of his former life, from the best men with whom he had lived so long. Nor is there in all his history a fact better attested, more undeniable.

Michael Ferno [86] reports that the cardinals agreed upon the only one Roderic, the vicechancellor, to make him Pope, and their votes went together for him. A few pages farther on, he states that, without pressure of any kind, he was chosen with common accord [87].

The industrious ambassador of Florence, Valori, wrote [88], on the 12th of August : The vicechancellor was proclaimed as Sovereign Pontiff under the name of Alexander VI. He

84. The date of the election of pope Alexander VI is erroneously given, as the 3d of August, on page 463 of the IId Volume of our " History of America before Columbus ".

85. See Document 92.

86. Conclave Alex. VI, ap. Bibl. Vatic. Cod 8656.

87. In his Conclave of Alexander VI he states (Bibl. Vatic. Latina, Cod. 8656, post fm 63) : Alli 10 d'Agosto su la prima hora della notte, concordi tutti gli Illmi cardinali nell' Illustrissimo Roderic de Borgia, quasi da contrarii voti a favor di lui solo rivoltati, lo crearono Sommo Pontefice. La matina sequente, cavata fuori della fenestra la croce, fu data voce per tuta la città, che Roderico Cardinal Vicecancelliero era stato dal sacro Collegio creato Vicario di Christo.

88. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 610.

was, after a long contest, elected by unanimous consent, nor did he miss a single vote.

Manfredo Manfredi, the envoy of Ferrara, where his news would not be welcome, could not help admitting [89] that Roderic Borgia had been elected by the unanimous vote of the cardinals.

Pope Alexander VI himself, in a brief addressed to the archduke Sigismond of Austria, and in another of the same date and of the same contents, to the community of Terni [90], wrote as follows a few days after his election : " Although my brethren, the cardinals, might have agreed upon others, eminent by greater merits ; yet, through a judgment of God, whose counsels are inscrutable, they have, on the 11th of August, with unanimous will and accord, elected me to be the Spouse and Pastor of his Holy Church ". He finished his letter by begging their prayers to obtain God's blessing upon his future administration [91]. Shortly after, he stated, at the solemn obeisance of Siena, and in the presence of the cardinals : " ... the pontificate, to which we have been called, through God's will, by the common decree of all the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church " [92].

The exceptional unanimity of the election was soon known all over Christendom, and several orators of the princes, at their solemn acts of obeisance, made mention of it in congratulating the new Pontiff [93].

The speaker of Lucca said to him : Our joy at thy exaltation is enhanced by the assent of the whole clerical order and the harmony of the worthy electors.

The one of Florence : We may on this occasion first speak

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89. Ibid., p. 2, footn. 1.
90. Oldoinus, Additam ad Ciaconium, Vitae Roman. Pontiff.
91. See Document 87.
92. Jerome Porcius, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. B. B. B. I. 13.
93. Rome, Bibl. Barberin, B. B. B. I. 13 : Hieron. Porcii Commentar.

of the worth, the good judgment and the accord of the cardinals in electing thee.

The orator of Genoa declared : Because of thy meekness and other good qualities, thou hast been called to the height of the supreme apostolate by the votes of all the cardinals, not of their great number only; and, indeed, in such a manner, as if they all had considered thee not only as worthy and desirable, but also as reluctant to uphold the dignity of the papacy and to increase its splendor.

The spokesman of Mantua said : Our illustrious prince, the Marquis of Mantua, was filled with joy when learning that the Fathers, who had charge of electing a good pastor of souls, had chosen thee to the supreme pontificate, without opposition, by unanimous consent.

So also the Milanese orator declared : " The dukes of Milan and Bari greatly rejoiced when they heard that the cardinals, with sincere conviction and pure intention, had called thee, Roderic Borgia, the vicechancellor, to occupy the pinnacle of the holy apostolate, and had, through divine inspiration, unanimously decreed that thou alone wert fit to sustain the heavy burden of such an office. "

The contemporary historians likewise report without dissent the unanimity of the election.

We have mentioned already Hartman Schedel.

Hieronymus Porcius states in his Commentary [94] : " Roderic Borgia was established Supreme Pontiff by the cardinals ; he was elected unanimously, unanimously confirmed. "

A contemporary who concludes his history before the death of pope Alexander VI [95], writes that cardinal de Borgia, while

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94. Ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 608.

95. Ap. Clément de Vebron, Les Borgia, p. 556, and Leonetti, Papa Alessandro VI, vol. III, p. 518.

accurately performing, for forty years the arduous duties of a vicechancellor, secured so well the good will of all his colleagues, that he was elevated to the pontificate by the plaudits of them all.

Giovanni Stella [96] relates : " Pope Alexander VI was, in the year 1492, with the consent of all, put in the place of pope Innocent VIII ".

Sigismondo de ' Conti [97] mentions the esteem in which cardinal de Borgia was held by the four preceding Pontiffs, his great learning, the elegance of his person and speech and the vigor of his health, and ascribes to all these qualities the fact that " he was judged by all his colleagues as worthy of the supreme pontificate ". He, farther on [98], puts the following words into the mouth of the cardinals addressing the king of France, Charles VIII, before whom cardinal Giuliano della Rovere and his disloyal colleagues were then accusing the Pontiff : " Alexander VI is the same, if not a holier man, who was exalted to the supreme pontificate, after having lived for thirty-seven years in such a high dignity, that, we shall not say every action, but every word of his has been known by everybody ; and the very ones who now defame him, have helped the most to his election ; nor has the vote of a single cardinal failed him, but his choice has been so unanimous, that his elevation may be considered as proclaimed, not by the word of man, but by the voice of God ".

Ciaconius [99] repeats the testimony of the almost contemporary historian Panvini [100] relating that cardinal de Borgia was elected Pontiff by twenty-two of the twenty-three cardinals, thus excepting only his own vote.

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96. Ap. Leonetti, Papa Alessandro VI, vol. III, p. 523 ; and Clément de Vebron, Les Borgia, p. 559.
97. Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, t. II, pp. 53, 54.
98. Ibid., p. 90.
99. Vitae Pontiff. Roman., p. 148.
100. Vita Alex. VI, p. 337.

It is remarkable that even the stupid pamphleteer, who leads the revilers of Pope Alexander VI, had heard of the unusual honor conferred upon the victim of his poisonous pen. He wrote : Cardinal Borgia was elected Pope by all the votes, " a pieni voti " [101]. Nor is the bitter Gregorovius undeserving of notice, when, convinced by contemporary testimony, he agrees that the name Borgia exclusively came forth from the ballot-chalice [102].

What should we, therefore, say of de l'Epinois, who, in spite of all those witnesses, writes [103], without giving any authority but a deceiving they-say, " dit-on ", that cardinal de Borgia was elected in a hurry, through the services of Ascanio Sforza, by all the votes, with the exception of three. Such are the facts, he says [104] !

And what of the great historian, Dr. von Pastor ? Shall we frown or shall we smile, when seeing him with daring initiative, at his desk, working hard to obtain by illicit means the bare majority of fifteen electors for cardinal de Borgia ? To obtain this fanciful end, he is obliged to make guilty of the crime of simony such worthy and honorable cardinals as Michiel, Dominic della Rovere, Sclafetano, Pallavicini and Riario. He also finds himself reduced to the necessity of making cardinal de Borgia render himself ridiculous or ineligible by voting for himself—on a signed ballot. Almost in despair of finding his fifteenth man, he is, finally, compelled to inveigle the old but wise and saintly cardinal Gherardo, through the intervention of his servants. Pastor's task is evidently difficult ; yet he performs it, and then stoutly contradicts the legion of contemporary witnesses, when asserting,

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101. Rome, Bibl. Vittor. Emanuele, Mss. Jesuitici, no. 1558.
102. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 311.
103. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 388.
104. Charles Yriarte, (Les Borgia, t. I, p. 55) copies de l'Epinois, when he says : " Le vote fut unanime, moins trois voix ".

upon his own authority, that eight of the cardinals were unwilling to vote far Borgia [105].

De Magri, an annotator of Corio [106], took less pains to tell, in A. D. 1857, that Roderigo Borgia was elected through the favor of two-thirds of the cardinals.

The other enemies of pope Alexander VI, having more regard for numerous unimpeachable witnesses and documents, admit the unanimity of cardinal de Borgia's election ; but the fact stuns them, unwilling as they are to admit also the reasons of those same witnesses why all the cardinals chose him.

It would take a volume to relate all these reasons, and the special praises lavished upon him, on the occasion of his accession to the papal throne ; but we shall mention only a few of them :

He has, Michael Ferno says [107], been chosen, approved and crowned with so much pomp and glory within a short space of time. What can explain it all to me, if not the great power of his intellect, his special dexterity in handling all kinds of affairs and the uprightness of his heart, which have attracted and compelled the cardinals to give him their votes? It is his virtue that opened him the way to the inaccessible heights, his wisdom alone has carried him to St. Peter's See. Carvajal had, in his sermon to the Cardinals, directed them to vote for not only a good man, but for the best and most meritorious one among themselves ; and Ferno remarks that the electors, by choosing cardinal de Borgia, had proved to have understood and followed the advice of the preacher's opportune, learned and magnificent oration.

A contemporary Roman jurist sets in verse his reasons.

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105. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 277, 278.

106. Storia di Milano, Vol. III, p. 508.

107. Bibl. Vatic., Cod. 8656, Conclave Alex. VI.

identical with those of Ferno, for the election of pope Alexander VI [108].

The Milanese orator, Jason Mayno [109], proclaimed him the right man to govern the Church, because—among many other qualifications—he had more than anyone else acquired prudence through his experience in many transactions, because his long and constant intercourse with various nations had made him quicker than others to know and value people, because he was acquainted with all matters and persons ecclesiastic, and had handled the most secret interests of peoples, princes and kings.

At the solemn obeisance of the Florentines, their Speaker said : We would have been satisfied with the last one of the Sacred College and happy with a cardinal of ordinary worth ; but thou, the first of them, hast been given to us ; the one who, rich in experience and of a powerful intellect, art considered, by common testimony, as excelling all others in largeness of heart, thou who art to be a worthy Vicar of Christ for his people [110].

Cardinal d'Aubusson had been absent from the conclave, but he sent, to do homage to the new Pontiff, the bishop of Rhodes, who said in his name : We congratulate Christianity, because the supreme dignity, authority and power have been assigned to thy admirable virtue, thy incredible wisdom and thy inborn magnanimity [111].

Hartman Schedel [112] says of him : He excels in knowledge of literature and sciences, and his conduct of life is of the best ; his kindness is proverbial, although it is no detriment to his authority ; his counsel is wise and useful ; moreover, he is a man of piety and knows all things that may be convenient

108. See Document 92.

109. Also ap. Burchard, t. II, p. 9, footn., and Lunig, Orationes, t. I, p. 113.

110. Porcii Comment. Bibl. Barberini. Cod. B. B. B. I. 13.

111. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds Lat. 13824, f° 172.

112. Chron. Liber. f° CCLVII vo.

or helpful in his exalted dignity. Happy, therefore, is he, adorned with so many virtues, placed at the head of the highest magistracy, which he has well deserved from the good God.

The contemporary historian, Sigismondo dei Conti, who had the occasion of knowing him well, writes of him [113]: "Roderic Borgia, vice-chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, was a most dexterous man, who had added to his great mental qualifications the most complete experience of affairs; for he had been thirty-seven years among the number of Cardinals. Nor had he ever been absent from a Consistory, unless prevented by sickness, and this had very rarely happened. He had been held in high esteem by Pius, Paul, Sixtus and Innocent, under whom he had lived. He had been a legate in Spain and in Italy. He excelled all others in the knowledge of religious ceremonies, and, when celebrating, was noted for the great splendor of his voice and the striking dignity of his movements. To these qualities must be added the majesty of his personal appearance, which, although of less value than the riches of his mind, and seemingly not much required in a Christian, ought to be praised where it exists, since in a noble body, much wisdom is usually to be found, and, as the great orator says, the person of a prince must serve the eye of his people. He was, moreover, of an age, in which, according to Aristotle, men are the most prudent, being about sixty years of age. His body was unimpaired by sickness, so that he could perform all pontifical duties, and that no debility could injure the alertness of his mind. Such were the reasons why all his colleagues judged him worthy of the Supreme Pontificate" [114].

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113. Le Storie de Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 53.

114. Pastor, who copies this report of Sigismondo, forgets the closing sentence. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 273.

The Civiltà Cattolica [115] is evidently correct when it says : The worth and qualities of cardinal de Borgia were the most potent factors in his unanimous election.

H. de l'Epinois [116] is puzzled at reading some of those testimonies, but comes to the logical conclusion that they are simply incomprehensible, if cardinal Roderic de Borgia has followed the conduct attributed to him—by his enemies. Does he admit the logical consequence ? No. How can we doubt his wicked life, he adds. What does an argument of that kind prove, but that the writer is incurably blind with prejudice. Historical truth shines into his eyes, for he calls the testimonies numerous, public, incontestable ; but the light hurts his eyes, and he casts a witticism over it all : " de l'eau bénite de cour " ! Away with history ! But, some explanation or another of the unanimous election must be offered. H. de l'Epinois adds : The epoch in which he lived was sufficiently perverted, he says, not to enter any protest, not to be astonished in the least at the election of an intelligent administrator but a guilty priest. He does not, of course, speak any more of that epoch that loudly praised the virtues of cardinal de Borgia.

Universal corruption, or that, at least, of the Sacred College is set forth as an explanation of the election and magnificent coronation of pope Alexander VI by quite a number of our modern historians. Whilst the contemporaries testified that Roderic de Borgia was chosen on account of his pure moral integrity and piety, the late Cantu [117] bewails the time when his immorality was no obstacle to his elevation. Moehler [118] condemns the conclave for being bad enough to elect such a Pope, and Loughlin approvingly quotes [119] Ranke, who as-

115. An. 26, ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 415.
116. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, pp. 394, 395.
117. Hist. Univers. lib. XV, p. 100.
118. Kirchengesch.
119. Amer. Cath. Quart. Rev., an. 1900, p. 261.

sures us, that in the midst of universal corruption, there was a corrupt college of cardinals that gave the highest dignity to the one who promised the most.

Where is the reader not to perceive at once that such a sweeping verdict against a whole generation can not be but iniquitous, especially when he knows it to be intended only to procure the possibility of reviling a man lauded by the writers and speakers of his day ?

Such a sentence is, moreover, simply untrue ; for it is historically known that, if at the time there were criminal princes and scandalous writers, there also were thousands of people, both among the clergy and the laity, leading an exemplary life, more recognized Saints, particularly in Italy, than during any later century [120]. The summary reproof of the electors of the new Pontiff is more unjust still, as we may readily conclude from the sketches of the several cardinals, which we have drawn mainly from an ancient approved historian and from another who could not favor them without injuring his main topic. Pastor himself admits [121] that there still were some honorable men in the Senate of the Church.

Meanwhile, the question is not so much to explain the action of the cardinals, giving authority over their own selves to a pretendedly depraved companion, dangerous also because of his talents recognized by friends and foes ; nor to explain a supposedly apathetic submission of the people to a dishonorable master ; but is mainly to give a reason for the unanimity of the election, for the joy of the Romans at its publication, for the unusually magnificent demonstrations of honor and respect of the thousands at the coronation, for the hymns of praise sung for a whole year by the embassies of cities, princes and kings of all Christianity. Depravity was

120. Cfr. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 17, ff., s. 63, ff.

121. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 260.

not at the root of all this. Pastor describes [122] the natural, quite different fruit of the corruption of those days, when taking the defense of pope Sixtus IV against Infessura. " The accusation of immorality ", he says, " is one that was, in that corrupt time, but too readily flung at an enemy. Even the austere Adrian VI fell a victim to the slanderous inclination of the Renaissance. It had gone so far, that the worst was said of everyone. The sterner the virtue, the surer it was to arouse wickedness ". The neo-pagans gave way to decent people at the election of pope Alexander VI, but they took their turn at his death.

ARTICLE V. — POPE ALEXANDER VI ELECTED CANONICALLY.

The enemies of pope Alexander VI, having resolved to transform his exaltation into a disgrace, cannot afford to drop the former explanation of his unanimous choice. Pastor himself [123] insists upon it. Yet, another scheme is more generally adopted by them. They, namely, accuse him, and, reluctantly, but unavoidably, his electors also, of the crime of simony, of buying and selling their votes ; and this theory is almost exclusively followed by modern writers. Loughlin [124] asserts, on the authority of Ranke and Pastor, " that Borgia secured his election through the rankest simony, is a fact too well authenticated to admit of any doubt ".

We beg leave to doubt, however, and to examine the supposititious fact.

That the alleged simoniacal transactions were not completed nor even initiated before the beginning of the conclave, or during the four first days of its duration, we know from the

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122. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 553.
123. Ibid., s. 280.
124. Amer. Cath. Quart. Rev., an. 1900, p. 262.

testimonies of Ferno, who states that the cardinals finally, on the 10th of August, agreed upon the vicechancellor Roderic, after voting against him before, " quasi contrariis comitiis " [125]; and of Valori [126], who says that the candidates preferred in the scrutinies, down to Friday forenoon, were the cardinals Caraffa and de Costa.

When seeing that none of the candidates, favored so far, was likely to gather two-thirds of the votes, the cardinals held a most earnest deliberation ; and, when we consider the subsequent liberality of the new Pontiff towards Ascanio Sforza, and the influence on the conclave attributed to him by Valori [127], Guicciardini [128] and others, we feel inclined to presume that Ascanio may have spoken in favor of cardinal de Borgia, before the electors assembled on this occasion. Hartman Schedel [129] says : It was the time of day after noon, when the cardinals came to their unanimous resolution, and, as an indication that they had acted with good judgment and from divine inspiration, neither the rest of that day nor the following night brought any change ; although, in matters of this nature, nothing is weaker or more vacillating than a man's mind, and the space of one hour may bring great innovations.

This contemporary report not only rebukes the very thought of simony, but also indicates that, after seeing his former alleged offers of bargain to have been of no avail, cardinal de Borgia would have had little more than the time of dinner to pervert his antagonists and agree with them on the price of their votes. Why, he would have had barely time enough to jot down the various amounts and obligations to be agreed

125. Bibl. Vatic. Cod. 8656, p. I.
126. Ap. Pastor. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 814.
127. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 610.
128. Storia de Milano, vol. 3, p. 463.
129. Munich, K. Staatsbibl. Cod. Lat. 716, f° 124 or seq.

upon. Inasmuch, therefore, as we can learn from his historical sources regarding the transactions of the conclave, we may safely say, that cardinal de Borgia was elected Pope without any stain of simony.

But Loughlin says : " the cardinals who had rejected his bribes (!) proclaimed the crime immediately, and those who had accepted them confessed it later on " [130]. Let it, however, be remarked that here he refers to no authority and has none to whom he can refer. No elector of pope Alexander VI is known to ever have accused himself or any colleague of such a villainy. Philip de Comines tells that, when king Charles VIII had captured Rome, Giuliano della Rovere and Ascanio Sforza, great enemies of the Pope, he says, charged the Pontiff with having bought his holy dignity ; but he does not tell that they incriminated themselves or others with selling it [131]. The charge was but a vague assertion, and the King went to work, as disbelieving the rebel prelates.

The first news of pope Alexander's election that left Rome was from the Florentine ambassador, Valori. He wrote from the apostolic palace, on August the 11th : " At this hour of ten o'clock has been canonically created and proclaimed, " e stato creato et publicato canonicamente " as Sovereign Pontiff the Most Reverend cardinal vicechancellor... " [132].

Some of the ambassadors in Rome at the time express their astonishment and displeasure at the election of cardinal de Borgia, and they report, but without comment and as a matter of customary occurrence, several gifts and distributions of benefices, dignities and offices to some cardinals and officials of the Roman court; yet, they hint not at any bargain, obligation or promise, although they would not have failed to do so, had they found any reason or occasion for it.

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130. Amer. Cath. Quart. Rev., an. 1900, p. 262.
131. See Document 88.
132. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 1, no. 1.

Manfredo Manfredi, envoy of the duke of Ferrara in Florence, wrote from the latter city [133] to the duchess, who was a princess of Naples, that Piero de' Medici had announced the new Pontiff to have been elected to the satisfaction of the whole Sacred College. But neither was the lady, nor, consequently, Manfredi himself equally well pleased ; and he assured her, on his own authority, not on a report from Rome, as Thuasne [134] insinuates, that the election was not the work of the Holy Ghost, but the result of the electioneering, " pratiche ". He did not, however, venture to say simony. Manfredi was not aware of the fact that intrigues had either proved useless or had had no time to take place. What is the probatory value of such an assertion ?

James Trotti, an ambassador in Milan, from France, according to de l'Epinois [135], of Ferrara or of Venice, as Gregorovius [136] prefers, probably exasperated by the feasts celebrated in Milan on the occasion of the election, squarely broaches the slander, when, on the following 28th, he writes from that city to the duke of Ferrara : " The pontificate has been sold by means of simony and a thousand rascalities and dishonesties. It is a disgrace, it is contemptible. Let the Seigniory of Venice rest assured that France and Spain will refuse obeisance, as soon as they hear of such a crime ". This outburst simply proves that Trotti was angry, nothing more. Of course, France and Spain did not refuse their homage.

The private, not to say the secret, accusations, made by a couple of politicians, with the object of pleasing their disappointed masters, are abundantly compensated and fully refuted, not only through the recognition of pope Alexander VI

133. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 2 no. 1.
134. Ibid.
135. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 389.
136. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 45 and footn.

by the Christian princes and their tribute of respect to him, but better still by the formal and solemn protestation of many, that his entry into power had been regular and canonical.

Thus did the Florentines declare to him before the whole Roman court [137] : We must render eternal thanks to thy unanimous electors ; the Holy Ghost has come down upon them and the power of the Most High has overshadowed them. And again : The Florentine senate and people owe greater thanks than they can give for his lawful, " Canonica ", wise and provident election.

The Republic of Venice [138] proclaims : We are aware that thou hast been, through a divine spirit and the wisdom of the Most High, designated with good right as the Vicar of Christ and the only pastor of his sheep.

Ferdinand of Naples himself could not help testifying [139] : We venerate thee as the true Pontiff, and we profess that thou art the peaceful and lawful, " legitimum ", Vicar of Christ.

The speaker for Mantua made this declaration [140] : We recognize in thee the legitimate successor of Peter and the Vicar of Christ.

The orator of the Marquis of Montferrat praised the cardinals for their good judgment in electing pope Alexander VI, and finished his discourse by addressing the Pontiff and saying [141] : And now we recognize and venerate thee as the Vicar of Christ, the legitimate successor of St. Peter, the prince and pastor of the whole world.

Jason Mayno said to the new Pontiff, in the name of the dukes of Milan and of Bari [142] : We thank the cardinals of the

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137. Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. B. B. B. I. 13 : Porcii Comment.
138. Ibid.
139. Ibid.
140. Ibid.
141. Ibid.
142. Ibid. et alibi.

holy Roman Church, who honestly, " sincerius ", performed their duty at the late election, and judged thee to be the lawful pastor of God's flock. Mayno's own and full words were, according to an ancient manuscript [143], as follows : If ever before the most reverend cardinals of the Church militant have, through inspiration of the divine Spirit performed the function of a holy election, with a pure mind and correct judgment ; they have certainly done so on this occasion ; nay, more honestly than ever, more uprightly and more successfully, when they have declared thee (Alexander VI) Supreme Pontiff by the votes of them all.

In the document relating the solemn obeisance of the envoys of Avignon, on the 13th of May, 1493 [144], it is stated that they, " with all due reverence and devotion ", performed their duty " before His Holiness, Our Lord pope Alexander VI, the Vicar of Christ and successor of St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, and their natural and immediate Lord in matters spiritual and temporal ".

So also did cardinal d'Aubusson, through the mouth of his envoy, the bishop of Rhodes, declare to pope Alexander VI [145] : We venerate thee as the true Vicar of Christ, the lawful successor of Peter ; and, with loyal submission we profess thee to be the bishop and pastor of the Universal Church and of the Lord's flock. These expressions are not, it is true, the exact, the technical terms to designate a Pontiff " canonice intrans ", but they could not, in their context, be mistaken to signify anything less.

The enemies of pope Alexander VI assert that, in the year 1495, cardinal Giuliano della Rovere wanted the French king, Charles VIII, to depose that Pontiff, as elected through simo-

143. Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Eman., Mss. Sessoriani, Cod. 314, f° 148.
144. Bibl. Vaticana, Ottoboniana, Cod. 2504, p. 2, f° 275.
145. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds Lat., 13824, f° 172.

ny ; but they keep silent about the fact that, only three years later, the same cardinal accepted from Charles's successor the mission of performing, in the King's name, the act of solemn obeisance to that same Pontiff, by which he was to recognize him as " the true rector of the Universal Church and the true Vicar of God on earth, entered upon his office in a canonical manner " [146].

Leonello Chieregati, who had admonished the cardinals to elect, as successor of pope Innocent VIII, the best man among themselves, preached again in St. Peter's, in the year 1495, before the Roman prelates and a numerous gathering of diplomats, presided by the Pope, whom he incidentally addressed, saying : " The heavenly and the earthly powers have been divinely transferred upon thee, Holy Father, because thou hast been, on account of thy qualities of mind and body, so highly praised by the orators of the princes not long ago, and raised to the apostolic chair through the unanimous and lawful choice of this Sacred College, " concordi canonicaque electione " [147].

As late as the year 1501, the orator sent by the Grand Duke of Lithuania, addressed the Pontiff, saying [148] : I shall give to thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, etc. There is no doubt that those words were also spoken to thee, for thou hast ascended this holy See in a proper and lawful manner and, sustained by a watchful providence, thou justly occupiest St. Peter's chair.

All these and similar solemn protestations sufficiently manifest the public conviction, regarding the election of pope Alexander VI, at the time best fitted to pronounce a correct judgment on its validity and its lawfulness. The most trustworthy diarists of those days add their mite to the universal

146. See Document 145.
147. Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Eman., Mss. Sessoriani, Cod. 413, f° 448.
148. Theiner, Monumenta Polon. et Lithuan., t. II, p. 277.

verdict. Of these we know Ferno already and Schedel, and it may suffice to add the name of Hieronymus Porcius, whose Commentary was published in Rome in the year 1493.

ARTICLE VI. — ACCUSATIONS OF SIMONY REFUTED.

It is striking that Raphael Volaterranus [149], always hard on pope Alexander VI, does not speak of simony, but simply says that he succeeded to Innocent through the exertion of several cardinals, who at first found him to be ungrateful, and were afterwards either exiled or imprisoned by him. Of buying their votes, not a word.

We wonder why Thuasne introduces here a letter of Peter Martyr, charging the Pontiff with horrible generalities and, in particular, with having used gold and silver and great promises, as steps to climb to the summit of his power. Indeed, Thuasne himself takes pains [150] to warn the reader that Ranke, as Gregorovius remarks, has proved this letter to have been retouched in later years ! In fact, it is dated before the election, on the 19th of July, 1492 ! It is part of a series of literary essays styled an " Opus Epistolarum ", a Work of Correspondence, written and rewritten at any time before its publication, and almost entirely devoid of historical value.

The Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria [151] mistakes when it says that Burchard, in his diary, clearly states the election of Alexander VI to have been simoniacal. Burchard says nothing of that election, his Diary is a blank from the death of pope Innocent VIII till the 2d of the following month of December, as it is sufficiently established by

149. Anthropologia, lib. XXII, p. 261.

150. Ibid., p. 10, footn.

151. Vol. IV, p. 87.

Thuasne [152] and Nemec [153]. The eight first pages of Burchard's second volume are an interpolation from the diaries of Infessura.

But what of Infessura himself, who begins by applying to the new Pontiff the words of the Psalm : " He hath distributed, he hath given to the poor ". Pastor, following Gregorovius [154], interprets these words [155] as a bitter irony with which he denounces the briberies of the electors. We call it a jocose abuse of a sacred text, introductory to his list of dignities and offices become vacant through the promotion of their former possessor and now lawfully divided among seven cardinals. He crassly mistakes by saying that cardinal Ursini obtained the Borgia palace, and he deceives when he goes on to say : And it is said that he gave many thousands of ducats to all the others.

Feeling safe behind the slanderer's shield, " fertur ", they say, he further adds [156], and Ranke [157] believes the particular that " He gave to a white friar of Venice, lately made a cardinal, five thousand ducats for his vote ; but when the Venetians heard of this, they refused him the revenues of all his benefices and forbade everybody to associate with him ". Had Infessura forgotten that cardinal Gherardo did not return alive to the city of Venice, but was buried there with all honors due to his rank ; and that a beautiful monument was erected to the cardinal's memory by the famous architect and sculptor, Sansovini [158] ?

Infessura may have summarized a report of the distant and hostile Manfredi to the duchess of Este [159]. The envoy wrote,

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152. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 8, footn. 1.
153. Papst Alexander VI, s. 80.
154. Gesch. der Stadt Rom. Bd. VII, s. 311.
155. Gesch. der Päpste. Bd. III, s. 280-281.
156. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 2.
157. Geschichten, 22.
158. Leonetti, Papa Alessandro VI, vol. I, p. 61 ?
159. Cappelli, Atti e Memorie, Vol. IV, p. 324.

with the same " as far as I can learn " and " they say ", that the Pope paid all the servants of the cardinal in conclave ; in particular, " six " thousand ducats to those of the patriarch of Venice, and " they say " that these disposed the patriarch to give his vote to cardinal de Borgia, although he, at first, was firmly opposed to him [160].

From this it would seem that the cardinal himself got nothing. There is no record of Infessura's or Manfredi's five or six thousand ducats, but we learn from the papal account books that Gherardo, or rather his corpse, obtained something from the pontifical treasury. On the 20th of September, a week after his death, the clerks of the Camera paid out for him seven hundred ducats, as a free gift [161]. The payment had been ordered on the 1st of the month, probably with the intention of helping the poor saintly prelate to return home ; and the kindness was now used to defray the transportation of his body from Terni to Venice [162].

Infessura becomes really amusing farther on [163], when telling the story of Ascanio Sforza's special bribe : " They say also that, before entering the conclave, the vicechancellor, in order to have the vote of Ascanio and of his followers, sent four mules loaded with silver to the house of the said Ascanio, to be guarded there whilst he would be at the conclave, because they would be more safe there than in his own home.

160. See Document 89a.
(There is also this other version, where the blame is shifted from the cardinal on his secretary ; yet only in the form of a suspicion (Muratori, Rerum Ital. Scriptores, XXII, 1250, ap. Hagen, Die Papstwahlen von 1484 und 1492, s. 28): A di 7. di Settember S'ebbe nuova da Todi, che ritornando da Roma il nostro Reverendissimo Cardinal Don Maffeo Girardo, nostro Patriarca, da flusso era morto. Era con lui Giorgio Negro segretario, il quale fu molto imputato d'aver fatto che il detto Cardinale abbia dato il suo voto a fare questo Papa, e d'aver avuto mangerie da esso Papa.

161. See Document 89b.

162. In the same books we see that such donations to poorer cardinals were not unusual during the reign of pope Alexander VI.

163. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 3.

They say that this silver was given to the said Ascanio to have his vote. ". Were four mule loads, labeled " silver ", driven through the streets of Rome, infested with robbers and murderers, in broad daylight, as Symonds adds [164], so that the train might be overtaken and stolen at once, or, at least, that the thieves might know where to find rich booty ? And why prefer strangers to his own tested servants as guardians of his treasures, in a house as liable as his own to be robbed ? And they say that this silver was given to Ascanio to buy his vote ! Why not rather to pay the heavy debt that cardinal de Borgia owed him ? The story is not a very likely one, Christophe says [165], and Gregorovius, who cannot forego the pleasure of repeating it, virtually admits it to be a fiction, " Fabel " [166].

To refute the allegations of bribes in money, we consider it sufficient to expose the very terms of the original accusation, made by the known Manfredi to the known duchess of Este [167]. He had told her that Piero de' Medici had announced the election of cardinal de Borgia to have been made to the satisfaction of the whole Sacred College, and added the following postscript : " In the communication made by the Magnificent Piero of the report from Rome, regarding also the distribution of offices and benefices made by the Pope, there was included nothing of the moneys that he is said to have promised to certain cardinals ; maybe, because Piero was not willing to appear the originator of it. But I had it from good source afterwards, how His Holiness has either given or promised to cardinal Orsini, besides the benefices, twenty thousand ducats, to Colonna fifteen thousand ducats, to Savelli thirty thousand ducats. I have thought it well to mention this to Your Excel-

164. Renaissance in Italy, p. 371.

165. Hist. de la Papauté, t. 2, p. 372.

166. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 310, footn.

167. Cappelli, Atti e Memorie, t. IV, p. 323.

lency, to let you understand that the intrigues would not have affected these lords, as they did, without great obligations promises. It has, consequently, been necessary to come to the said terms ; for, had not the Colonna, Savelli and Orsini consented, the affair would have been in danger. Your excellency, who is most prudent, shall, if it pleases, keep for herself this information about the promise of money " [168].

The reader will observe that the postscript contains but one positive statement, namely, that Piero de' Medici had not uttered a word of bribery or promises of money.

Then, the envoy supposes Piero to be informed of them but unwilling to appear as the originator of the news. We now know the dispatches of the Florentine ambassador in Rome, Valori [169] ; and that he had not informed Piero of any bribery of any kind. Nor could Manfredi himself know of any bribes, not having a private agent and courier in Rome.

We further notice that he had no authority at all to mention, although writing most confidentially, but only a gossiper's " good source ". Neither did he know whether the money was paid or only promised.

To seduce the duchess into believing him, he misrepresents the importance of the three cardinals, the loss of whose votes, as he knew at the time, would have been immaterial.

For fear of being exposed, he, finally, begs the duchess to keep silent abouf the money bribes.

Certainly, a complainant of that sort would not be admitted to any American tribunal.

Let it be remarked that the special crimination of cardinal de Borgia buying votes for money, is generally abandoned

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168. H. de l'Epinois, Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. 29, p. 391, also recalls another similar letter of Manfredi, but mistranslates " El se intende similiter ", we equally hear it said, by : We equally know.

169. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 610, seq.

today. Even Pastor does not mention it. It is true that de l'Epinois still speaks of the very words pretendedly used by the cardinal to corrupt Ascanio Sforza with offices and money [170]. Why did he not add that " several gentlemen there present took note of the promises, which included his palace together with his silver and books, and undersigned them all as witnesses ". But, if de l'Epinois should read the whole of this brief manuscript, from which he draws his information [171] ; he would blush for having used it as an authority.

It is well known that pope Alexander VI gave to cardinal Sforza his former dwelling, and, as a matter of course, all the enemies of this Pope, among whom Pastor [172], represent the gift as a bribe. They consider, therefore, although without contemporary evidence and in spite of documental proof, the liberality of the Pontiff as an act of apparent duty, resulting from a simoniacal bargain or promise. The official document of the transfer of the mansion to cardinal Ascanio, the only source of information on this particular, plainly contradicts, however, their slanderous assumption. It is as follows :

" Alexander etc. To our beloved son, Ascanio Maria,..... Health etc ". He first gives him the meed of praises usual on such occasions, and does not forget to mention " the numerous excellent services received from him, on whose account we deem it becoming, nay rather a duty, to extend to you the hand of our liberality ". He then describes the palace as duly being his personal property, and concludes by expressing the motives of his donation. " Now, therefore, observing that thou hast not in the said City any dwelling of thy own, and considering that, through thy special devotedness to our per-

170. Rev. des Quest. Hist. t. XXIX, p. 390.
171. Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Eman., Mss. Jesuitici, no. 1558 ; Alibi.
172. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 276.

son and thy exquisite complaisances bestowed upon us, thou hast deserved much from us ; and willing, for those reasons, to grant in return a token of gratitude, and to provide in some measure for the convenience of thyself and of thine, We, of our own accord and not at the instance of a request from thee or another for thee, but of our own pure liberality and with full knowledge, we donate to thee by donation called " inter vivos ", the above said house, with all its appurtenances and rights thereto belonging ". Given at the Lateran in the year etc. 1492, the 26th of August [173].

Of furniture, books or other valuables contained in the palace there is not a word ; nor could we suppose, as many historians do, that the scholar, pope Alexander VI, ever parted with his valuable library.

The document does not contain a single hint at any bargain or previous promise, but every word and expression excludes the very thought of simony.

Pastor publishes [174] from the official records, the main considerations of the donation. Why should he not, as he does with every other document, why should not all historians, simply admit the plain words of this pontifical paper ? What right have they to give the lie to the Pope and to turn his act of kindness and gratitude into a crime of simony ? Where did they find, we shall not say another public paper, but any decent writing to state that the Pontiff was obliged to make the transfer in consequence of a simoniacal bargain or promise ? Truly, the enemies of pope Alexander VI employ desperate means to find fault with him.

It might, finally, be remarked that the Pope had other good secondary motives in giving his palace to Ascanio Sforza. This cardinal, indeed, seems to have been his special friend,

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173. See Document 90.

174. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 816.

and being recently appointed vicechancellor of the Roman Church, he was expected to use also as offices the buildings fitted up by his predecessor for a chancellery. Thus would the donation not only procure a home to a loved former colleague, but also save the Church from the expenses of erecting other chancery structures. It seems that, in reality, pope Alexander VI gave the property of his palace to the pontifical treasury, that it might continue to serve as the office of the papal chancery ; and that he donated to cardinal Sforza its usufruct only, to serve as a dwelling until his death. The fact is that the Borgia palace continued to be the chancery, under Ascanio Sforza and his successors in office, first two cardinals della Rovere and then Julius de' Medici ; till, after the death of cardinal Raphael Riario in A. D. 1521, his monumental palace became the possession of the papal treasury and replaced the Borgian " cancellaria vecchia ", which then first came into the hands of the Sforza family, through a special favor of pope Leo X [175].

During the two and a half first years of his reign, pope Alexander VI was universally considered as " canonice intrans ", lawfully elected. Not one conclavist set forth the objection of simony, until cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, worse than angry with the Pope, and cardinal Ascanio Sforza are said to have wanted a king of France, triumphant in Rome, to depose him ; alleging that he had bought his holy dignity. Comines heard of this in France and believed it, as well as the miraculous crumbling down of the walls of the Sant' Angelo fortress. He seems, however, to have entertained some doubt of the truth of the accusation, when adding its motive : the accusers' ambition of being Popes themsel-

175. Ratti, Famiglia Sforza ; Moroni, Dizionario, Art. Ascanio Sforza, ap. Theod. Hagen, Die Papstwahlen von 1482 und 1492, p. 21 ; Cfr. von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 263.

ves [176]. The French historian had likely been erroneously informed by enemies of the Pontiff ; for it seems, as we shall notice in due time, that, actually no attempt at deposition was made ; and we know that, if any suggestion of that kind was uttered, king Charles VIII paid no attention to it.

After the scandalous incident related by Comines, peace and silence reigned again about the election of pope Alexander VI till the end of his reign ; although some of the cardinals, misled by the politics of the time, caused him further disturbance and vexation. But, when dying, this Pope left behind, especially among the Italian nobility, not a few bitter enemies, who, unable to vent their hatred upon his buried remains, took an ignoble long-lasting revenge upon his memory, not only by besmirching his morality, but also by proclaiming him guilty of all possible crimes, and of simony in particular. The neo-pagan poets made a living by the publication of pungent distichs of the Pontiff's alleged trade in holy things, as quoted by de l'Epinois [177]. Pasquinades and satires of the beginning of the sixteenth century are the first forms of the history of pope Alexander VI. Diarists and historians of that epoch are hardly more reliable. H. de l'Epinois himself admits [178] that in the Diarum of Burchard—as we have it—the diaries of Infessura, the Cronaca attributed to Matarazzo, and in many other writings of the time, we find, in the midst of correct details, anecdotes invented or exaggerated, which the numerous enemies of the Pope ordered to be circulated, in order to revenge themselves for the chastisements to which they had had to submit.

Such is equally the case with the so-called contemporaries, who wrote afterwards from hearsay. Thus Bembo, who composed his Histories forty years after the election of pope

176. See Document 88.
177. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. 29, p. 391, n. 3.
178. Ibid., p. 360.

Alexander VI, asserts that he obtained the place of Innocent VIII, trusting in his wealth and liberality. But Bembo was no admirer of Alexander VI, as Thuasne says [179] ; he was a friend and favorite of that Pope's archenemy, Guidobaldo, duke of Urbino [180].

So also, Paul Jovius, ten years old at the accession of pope Alexander VI, wrote [181] that Roderic Borgia secretly corrupted some cardinals during the days of the conclave, and thus obtained the Pontificate. That such a statement is false we know from actual contemporaries. It is but natural that Jovius, who could expect no remuneration from the dead Pope, should have used his pen of iron, when he wrote of him, in the pay of his enemies, of whom, as a Venetian, he himself was one.

Panvinius, who published during the latter half of the sixteenth century a Life of Alexander VI, and copied [182] the evident mistakes of Infessura, was less positive about pope Alexander's simony, for [183] he, like his authority, takes refuge behind a " dicitur ", they say, and admits doubt by his " procul dubio ", undoubtedly.

We need not make any remarks about other historians speaking of simony, anterior to the renowned Raynaldi, because not one of them attempts to give any proof of the alleged crime.

Raynaldi, who publishes the events of A. D. 1492, in the year 1670, discards all " dicitur ", and positively asserts [184] that the greater number of the cardinals were corrupted, some with gold, others with promises of dignities and offices, to give their votes to Roderic Borgia, while others still elected

179. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 2. n. 1.
180. Kirchenlexicon, Art. Bembo.
181. Historiae sui Temporis, lib. I, p. 6.
182. P. 338.
183. P. 337.
184. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1492, nis. XXVI, XXVII.

him from motives yet more disgraceful. He is no eye-witness nor does he set forth any probatory fact to substantiate his assertion, but simply refers to Infessura, Çurita and Mariana, some of whose errors, already refuted, he also confidently copies ; and mentions Panvinius, but as freed of all hesitancy. It is but natural that subsequent revilers of pope Alexander VI should praise Raynaldi up to the skies, but they cannot pretend that, in this case, his reliability is any greater than that of his warrantors, whose authority is, after all, reduced to the questionable credibility of Infessura. Raynaldi's assertion has, nevertheless, become the model and justification for numberless writers who accuse the Pontiff of simony, without research, discussion or hesitation.

While a few, like de l'Epinois [185], rehearse the worn-out statements of diarists, Pastor is about the only modern historian who tries to prove Alexander VI to be really guilty [186]. In the text of his book he asserts that cardinal de Borgia made promises, " Verheissungen, er versprach, zugesichert ", of particular, rich dignities and well-paying offices to ten different cardinals electors ; and, in the corresponding footnotes, he reports a number of papal grants and appointments by which the same cardinals obtained the goods, which, he pretends, had been pledged to them. The juxtaposition is specious, adroitly misleading ; but it has two fatal defects : its former portion has no existence in fact, and the latter, as applied here, is a puerile and yet a colossal fallacy.

When anyone accuses a Supreme Pontiff of a crime, of making a simoniacal promise, the world has a right, a duty, to demand proof : testimony of satisfactory witnesses or documents. Yet, Pastor does not afford any. We have numerous documents on hand that should furnish the required

185. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. 29.

186. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 276, 277.

proof, should there be any in existence. But the official papers, referred to in the footnotes, not only do not as much as hint at such misdeed, but they expressly exclude, like the instrument of transfer of the Borgia palace, all thought of any former promise, made whether for simony or for fun. The valuable offices and dignities are stated to be, not paid, but granted, given, of the Pontiff's free will, in consideration of the qualities, virtues or needs of the beneficiaries. The forms and consideration of the bulls issued in favor of the electors of pope Alexander VI are wholly similar to those of all other pontifical concessions, whether made by Alexander VI or by any other Pontiff of that period, at any time or occasion.

It is, therefore, a fallacy to use the documents designated in the footnotes, to bolster up the assertion of simoniacal promises. The promises in the text mean consequent corresponding obligations, while the grants in the footnotes are acts of kindness and pure liberality, as it is plainly expressed in them. Pastor calls them " Belohnungen ", rewards or remunerations, leaving to his readers the suggested inference, that they are the compensations, the bribes for the cardinal's votes. A Pope may indicate a particular bestowal as a reward for a beneficiary's loyalty or attachment to his person, or an appointment to an office as a reward for his honesty or faithful discharge of former duties ; but he does not produce any promise or any other bargain, as a consideration of his concessions.

Thus did pope Alexander VI confer on Ascanio Sforza the office of vicechancellor because of his loyalty, honesty and prudence, his zeal for the house of God, his tested experience and numerous services ; all these qualities giving the firm confidence that he would faithfully and accurately administer whatever may be confided to him. Therefore, of his own

accord, from mere liberality, for the honor and glory of the Roman Church, he gives to him the important office [187].

Pastor's fallacy is puerile in its form, although colossal in its results. He implicitly confounds two heterogeneous ideas: to give and to pay, to liberally donate and to discharge an obligation contracted, and then he infers from every donation a corresponding obligation of promise or bargain !

It should be observed that, in conferring those offices and dignities mentioned by Pastor and hundreds more, the new Pope was fulfilling a grave papal duty. All his former offices, dioceses and benefices had become vacant and had no one to take care of them ; and other vacancies had taken place since the sickness of his predecessor. It was his duty to provide for them all ; and this he did by assigning to them new incumbents and administrators. Among these largely figured his electors, but this fact caused no surprise, only a passing notice in the dispatches of a few ambassadors. Pope Alexander VI followed the custom, and the example of Innocent VIII [188], of Sixtus IV [189], of Pius II [190], and of all his predecessors for many years. His gratitude towards the cardinals was also imitated by all his nearest successors. Pope Leo X issued about one hundred bulls in favor of his electors on the one day of his coronation and several more shortly after [191].

ARTICLE VII. — INFESSURA AND PASTOR EXONERATING SOME CARDINALS FROM THE CRIME OF SIMONY.

Infessura [192] asserts that only five cardinals of the conclave of the year 1492 : Caraffa, Piccolomini, de Costa, Zeno and

187. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I, II, III, lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 1.

188. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 682, 698 to 703.

189. Ibid. First codices of bulls and secretary briefs of Sixtus IV.

190. Ibid. Regest. 468.

191. Hergenroether, Regesta Leonis X, fasc. I.

192. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 3.

Giuliano della Rovere would accept nothing, and said that the votes must be given gratis at a papal election [193]. He does not, however, contradict the universal testimony of his time, which is that cardinal de Borgia was elected unanimously, by twenty-two votes. These five cardinals were, and all the others must have been aware ot the traffic going on, when Roderic de Borgia was supposedly corrupting and buying, at least, fourteen of their colleagues. The four first named are admitted by all to have been exemplary, saintly men. How could they bring guilt and disgrace upon themselves by cooperating in the elevation of an unworthy simonist to the holiest of dignities, even though not accepting a temporal price for their sin ? It is evident that pope Alexander's unanimous election could not have been simoniacal.

Pastor, therefore, denies the unanimity, and, by a late recount of the ballots, reduces the number of electors of pope Alexander VI to fifteen, the required majority ; thus charitably saving from all blame, not only the ones excepted by Infessura, but also three more honorable cardinals : Basso, Cibò and de' Medici. He seems not to have known of any donations made by the new Pope to them ; and, applying his fallacy, concludes that they spurned cardinal de Borgia's offers and refused him their votes.

If we had been aware of the great historical importance of the distribution made by pope Alexander VI of the benefices, dignities and offices, vacant at the time of, and shortly after, his election, we would more carefully have taken note, when making our researches, of the several grants bestowed upon each one of his electors ; yet, we find in our notes, then hurriedly taken, sufficient authentic proofs to contradict both

193. Charles Yriarte (Les Borgia, t. I, p. 55) copies Infessura, when he says : " Cinq cardinaux refusèrent de recevoir le prix de leur basse condescendance ".

Infessura and Pastor, who want to free from imaginery disgrace eight cardinals, to calumniate a Sovereign Pontiff.

Pastor says well [194] that cardinal Giovanni de' Medici was not to be won over by the most brilliant promises of Roderic de Borgia—because these were never made ; but he did not refuse the favors done him by pope Alexander VI.

At this Pope's first consistory, on the 31st of August, 1492, he was confirmed in his legation of the Patrimony province [195].

An interesting incident of one of the following consistories of the year 1492, is told in an ancient manuscript [196] : The Most Reverend Lord de Medices offered to resign three monasteries, reserving on them together two thousand ducats of yearly income. The Holy Father, remarking that such unions were prejudicious to the apostolic See, would not consent ; but he added that he would favor the Most Reverend de Medices with paternal affection, as is becoming a good Pontiff. Above all he bade him be of good cheer, because His Holiness would not fail him in anything, and intended to be his advocate with the Florentines in the matter of his revenues, and he would take pains that they should treat him well. He, himself, was willing to pay him every year a subsidy of five hundred gold ducats and to give him at once a thousand ducats for the next two years. When the consistory was over, the one thousand ducats were paid to the cardinal.

On the 8th of January, 1493, he received the priory of Mamilian de Lupeto, of the Order of St. Augustin, in the diocese of Pisa, and other benefices, amounting to a yearly income of one hundred gold florins [197].

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194. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s 277.

195. Archiv. S. Consist., Acta Consistor. 1492-1523, fo 2vo ; Bibl. Vatic. Cod. 8656, p. I. Initio ; Mich. Ferno : Pastor himself, ubi supra, s. 287-288.

196. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds Lat. Cod. 12554 : Memorabilia Rerum Consistorialium ab Alexandro Papa VI usque ad XVIm diem Octobris 1564, f° 4,bis.

197. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I, lib. I, Regest. 867, fo 4vo.

As for cardinal Basso, or more accurately, Jerome Bassus della Rovere, we found his promotion to the diocese of Palestrina, at the consistory of the 31st of August, 1492 [198]. On that same occasion he received other favors [199].

Already on the 1st of September, 1492, pope Alexander VI granted the cardinal's request of permission to make a last will or testament [200]. On the 26th of December, 1492, he bestowed on him certain monasteries in both the dioceses of Ostia and of Lerida [201], and, on the same day, the cardinal received a canonry and prebend in the cathedral of Gerona [202].

Nor was cardinal Cybò forgotten by the thankful Pontiff; for, on the 8th of February, 1493, he was made the successor of the late cardinal Gherardo in the diocese of Venice [203]. He received more favors on the 12th of February, 1493 [204]; and, on the next 3d of September, he was given a lucrative parochial church [205].

Cardinal Baptist Zeno received on the 1st of September, 1492, the esteemed faculty of granting a number of minor benefices, according to his will [206]. On the same day he was given the reservation of a monastery in the diocese of Padua, that is, the right to its possession as soon as it would become vacant [207]. Again, on the 11th of October, 1492, he was granted a parochial church, and a prebend in the diocese of Basilicata [208], and, on the 24th of the same month, another

198. Paris etc., ubi supra, f° 1.
199. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. I, t. I, Regest. 772 f° LXXXI or 270.
200. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. Div., an. I, t. I, Regest. 879, f° 1.
201. Ibid., t. IV, Regest. 775, f° 11.
202. Ibid. Bullar., an. I, t. III, Regest. 774, f° 117.
203. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI de Curia, an. I ad. X, t. I, Regest. 874, f° 4.
204. Ibid., t. III, Regest. 774, f° 327.
205. Ibid. Bullar., an. I, II, t. IX, Regest. 780, f° 169.
206. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. IV. Bullar., an. I, t. I, Regest. 772, f° 33vo.
207. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I, II, III, lib. III, Regest., 869, f° 2.
208. Ibid., an. I, t. II, Regest. 773, f° 105.

parish in the diocese of Lucca [209]. On the 7th of March, 1493, he was granted another benefice [210], and, on the 18th he received a yearly pension of sixty gold florins [211]. A few months later, he accepted two canonries and prebends, given to him by pope Alexander VI [212]. Even one of his nephews, George de Canali, received from the Pope, no doubt at the request of the cardinal, a series of valuable benefices, during the first year of his reign [213].

At the time of our researches, we were not aware of Dr. von Pastor's logic, and we took note of but one favor obtained by cardinal George de Costa, namely, the one granted to him on the 23d of January, 1493 [214]; and, in regard to cardinal Francis Piccolomini, we took down only the Rescript of the 20th of July, 1493, by which pope Alexander VI secured him the quiet possesssion of his contested rights [215].

Should we apply the historian's fallacy : " Post factum, ergo propter factum ", we would expect him to revise his count [216], and place also the six last-named cardinals with those sold to Roderic de Borgia and voting for him.

Both Infessura and Pastor mistake when asserting that the cardinals Caraffa and Giuliano della Rovere received nothing from the newly-elected Pontiff.

Oliverius Caraffa, among other gifts, obtained his wish on the 26th of August, 1492. He regretted having resigned a canonry and prebend of the cathedral of Seville and another benefice ; and the Pope granted his reinstatement, " regres-

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209. Ibid., an. I, t. II. Regest. 773, f° 105.
210. Ibid. Bullar., an. I, t. V. Regest. 776, f° 169vo.
211. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Bull., an. I, t. V. Regest. 776, f° 169vo.
212. Ibid. Bullar., an. I, t. IV. Regest. 775, f° 268vo ; and an. I, II, t. IX, Regest. 780, f° 302vo.
213. Ibid., t. III, Regest. 774, f° 336.
214. Ibid., t. III, Regest. 884, f° 117.
215. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. Div., an. I, t. I, Regest. 879, f° 211.
216. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd III, s. 277.

sum " [217]. On that same day of the Pontiff's inauguration, he was given a canonry and prebend in the cathedral of Gerona [218] ; and less than a year later, on the 11th of August, 1493, the Pope bestowed on him another canonry and prebend [219].

During this year 1493, several more benefices were bestowed upon him [220].

He obtained also a canonry and prebend in the diocese of Nantes on the 21st of January, 1494 [221], after having been named commendator-bishop of Cadiz, a fortnight before [222].

Pastor assures us that Giuliano della Rovere was not to be won over at any price, and did not want to hear of Borgia's election. Hagen [223] answers him that Giuliano did not walk off empty-handed, and helped towards Borgia's election. Pastor rejoins that this is in contradiction with all authentic sources. We, we know that Panvinius already stood on Hagen's side, and even said that Giuliano della Rovere was the author of pope Alexander's pontificate, " ejus pontificatus auctor " [224] ; and we presume that, if Pastor is willing to apply his fallacy to this particular also, he will henceforth contradict Infessura and admit this cardinal among the Pontiff's electors, when informed of the " authentic sources " telling of the liberality of pope Alexander VI towards Giuliano della Rovere.

Indeed, on the 26th of August, 1492, at the new Pontiff's coronation, Giuliano obtained the Benedictine abbey de Mu-

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217. Ibid., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. I, II, III, t. XVI, Regest. 787, f° 34vo.

218. Ibid. Bullar., an. I, t. III, Regest. 774, f° 117.

219. Ibid. Bullar., an. I, II, t. IX. Regest. 780, f° 291vo.

220. Ibid., an. I, II, t. VIII, Regest. 779.

221. Ibid. Alex. VI. Secr., an. I, lib. I, Regest. 867, f° 50.

222. Ibid. Alex. VI. Bullar., an. II, III, t. XVI, Regest. 787, f° 34vo.

223. Ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 278, footn. 1.

224. Vita Alex. VI, p. 338.

siazillis in the diocese of Rieux, worth a yearly income of six hundred florins in gold [225].

On the same day the Pope confirmed his right to a pension of three hundred gold ducats on the monastery of St. Hubert in the Ardennes and diocese of Liege, and allowed him to take possession of the abbey, should it become vacant or should the pension not be paid [226].

Again, on that day, pope Alexander VI convalidated another of Giuliano's claims, namely, the reentering into possession of the resigned provostry of the Blessed Mary de Sumaro in the diocese of Friuli, in case of future vacancy [227].

At the consistory of the 31st of August, 1492, cardinal Giuliano was continued in his legation of Avignon [228].

Soon after his elevation, pope Alexander VI first reserved for Giuliano the Camaldulese abbey of St. Bartholomew de Anglario in the diocese of Arezzo ; and, as soon as it became vacant, conferred it on him. After the death of the former abbot, one of the monks intruded on the valuable dignity, but the Pope threateningly admonished him, on the 1st of December, 1492, giving him six days to desist in favor of the cardinal [229].

It may suffice to simply mention some of the benefices granted to Giuliano della Rovere at the beginning of the year 1493 :

On January 4th, a canonry reserved [230].

February 13th, a rectory conferred [231].

February 24th, a secular abbey conferred [232].

225. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. VII, VIII, t. XLVII. Regest. 818, f° 148vo.

226. Ibid. Alex. VI, Bullar., an. I. II, t. XI, Regest. 782, f° 49.

227. Ibid. Alex. VI. Bullar., an. IX, X, t. LXXV, Regest. 846, f° 13.

228. Archiv. S. Consist., Acta Consistor., 1492-1523, f° 2vo.

229. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI Bullar. Divers., an. I, t I, Regest. 879, f° 25vo.

230. Ibid., Regest. 774, f° 25.

231. Ibid., f° 39vo.

232. Ibid., Regest. 776, f° betwixt 13 and 37.

March 8th, a pension of fifty gold ducats [233].

March 13th, a canonry and a provostry reserved [234].

March 14th, benefices worth nine hundred gold florins given [235].

Besides all these grants from the Pontiff's " mere liberality " and in consideration of the cardinal's " burdens of daily expenses ", as it is expressed, Giuliano della Rovere obtained also great favors for his nephews on pope Alexander's coronation day [236], and, the following 1st of February, a pension of twenty gold ducats for Anthony della Rovere [237].

Does it not appear from the inexhaustible liberality of pope Alexander VI, that cardinal Giuliano della Rovere had, at least, been one of his twenty-two electors ?

We should here, finally, remark that, if there were any truth or value in Pastor's rule : " Pope Alexander VI, after his election, gave benefices and dignities to his electors ; consequently, before his election, he bargained them away, as the price of their votes " ; then cardinal Roderic de Borgia would have acted like an idiot, by buying the votes of absent cardinals. We find, indeed, that he granted the monastery of St. Quentin, in the diocese of Noyon, on the 24th of November, 1492, to cardinal Peter de Mendoza, who was not at his conclave [238]. Cardinal Andrew Spinay was not in Rome, to vote either for or against Roderic de Borgia, who did, however, buy his vote, as we might conclude from the fact that pope Alexander VI conceded to him, on the 30th of January, 1493, a church of Lyons [239]. Yea, he must have bargained for the vote of his absent first cousin, cardinal del Milà, for

233. Ibid., Regest. 785, f° 284vo.
234. Ibid., Regest. 776, f° 56.
235. Ibid., Regest. 775, f° 257.
236. Ibid., Regest. 876, f° 1 ; Rome, Bibl. Barberin. Cod. XXXVI, f° 1vo.
237. Ibid. Alex. VI. Bullar., an. I, t. VI. Regest. 777, f° 64.
238. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. I, t. III, Regest. 774, f° 35vo.
239. Ibid. Alex. VI. Secret., an. I, II, III, lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 49.

he granted him, on the 27th of January, 1493, a pension of one hundred florins on a monastery of the diocese of Riez [240].

We pointed out already many errors of Raynaldi, made to bring disgrace on Roderic de Borgia. In speaking of pope Julius II's decree " Cum tam divino " of January 14th, 1505, he makes the unimportant mistake of placing it in the year 1506 [241]. Misled by Infessura, he commits a more damaging error, when asserting that Julius II, in issuing that stern document, had in mind the crime through which Alexander VI had obtained the supreme pontificate.

This saying of Raynaldi has been forged into the latest weapon of attack on pope Alexander's glorious election. Nearly all modern enemies of this Pontiff consider the bull of his successor as a condemnation of his pretended simony. So does de l'Epinois [242]. Villari [243] asserts that pope Julius II, in this document, has declared Alexander's election to have been null and void, and unfit to be convalidated even through the subsequent obeisance, " adorazione ", of the cardinals. Loughlin recently assured the readers of the American Catholic Quarterly Review [244] that Borgia's rankest simony is all but officially stated, in scathing terms, by the bull of Julius II, which he never saw.

And yet, an attentive reader of that document cannot find in it any reference, any allusion to Alexander's or to any former Pope's election. But, if there were any hint at the past, why should Villari single out pope Alexander VI from among several other Pontiffs of the time, like Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII, equally incriminated ; especially, when he

240. Ibid., t. IV, Regest. 775, f° 149.

241. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1506, no. 1. H. de l'Epinois in Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. 29, p. 392, notices the mistake, but makes another by dating the bull from the 19th of January instead of the 14th.

242. Ubi supra.

243. Storia di Savonarola, Ed. 1887, vol. I, p. 410, n. 2.

244. Apr. 1900, p. 262.

publishes [245] an ambassador's dispatches that accuse pope Julius II himself of acquiring the tiara by symoniacal promises? And why does Pastor [246] dishonorably mention Alexander VI in connection with that bull, while he asserts that the election of pope Julius II, was not doubtfully, but positively simoniacal [247]? Should they not more pertinently have remarked that the intention of the author of the bull was to repair an imputed misdeed of his own?

Let us say, in passing by, that we do not believe any of those accused Pontiffs to be guilty, till we shall have testimony more reliable than that of an Infessura and of the partisan newspapermen of the time, that is, of the envoys of the Italian princes, some at least of whom were displeased at every papal election.

Neither does pope Julius II complain of any evils from simoniacal elections in the past; his object is, as he declares it before the council of Lateran, to prevent the burdens and the ruin of the Vicars of Christ, and the detriment of the Christian religion, which might possibly be caused by spurious elections in the future [248].

Pope Julius II had necessarily noticed, and so had pope Alexander VI, the unlawful means tried by a few powerful and ambitious cardinals to obtain the pontificate. He issued his famous bull to preclude the spread of these occasional scandals, and—what is not sufficiently known—to execute an earnest project of the very predecessor whom he is said to have denounced.

Indeed, when pope Alexander VI was, in the year 1497, with the help of a commission of cardinals, preparing his

245. Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. II, p. 255, vol. III, p. 176.

246. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 686.

247. Ibid., s. 521, footn. 4.

248. " Nos attendentes quanti ponderis quantique exitii Christi Vicariorum in terris adulterinae electiones ' essent ' quantunque detrimenti Christianae religioni afferre ' possent '.

great bull of general reform, he did not forget the abuses, of which he had seen examples at the last papal elections. Among the disconnected suggestions, references to former apostolic decrees and conclusions agreed on [249], it is not difficult to distinguish several paragraphs, as coming from the Pope himself. Such is the following passage :

" **No corruption whatever at a conclave.** Let not any of the cardinals who has received temporal goods for the vote that he is to give at the election of a Roman Pontiff, call his own that which he has received ; nor can anyone, were he a Roman Pontiff, give him absolution, unless he distributed among Christ's poor what he has received. And should he, then or afterwards, have received some ecclesiastical benefice or office from one who had first promised [250], let it be understood that he has no right or title to that benefice or office ; and, in punishment of his error, let him be disqualified for any following election, so as to have neither active nor passive voice, even though dispensed in his disability by a Pontiff, or allowed by the College of cardinals to vote ". Pope Alexander VI then proposes to eliminate another evil, upon which his successor does not touch. He adds : " And to the end that there be more liberty and honesty in a matter of such importance, ' We ' forbid every layman and married cleric to enter the conclave under any pretext, unless all and each of the cardinals assembled have otherwise decided to admit a physician or some other person equally needed; and should one have been introduced through the fault of one or more cardinals, let these, by their act itself, incur the sentence of excommunication, and let him, who rashly intruded, be expel-

249. Bibl. Vatic. Lat. Cod. 3883, 173 folia et versa, and Cod. 3884, 132 folia et versa.

250. Pastor and others might notice here that the grant of a benefice is not simoniacal unless preceded by a correlative pre-election promise. The promise, therefore, ought to be proved more than the grant.

led by all means, and forfeit two thousand ducats applicable to the apostolic treasury " [251].

Would pope Alexander VI have had the effrontery to prepare a decree similar to the bull of Julius II, if his own election had been simoniacal ?

Instead of this, we have heard the contemporaries of pope Alexander's election, on numerous occasions, publicly and solemnly proclaim this election to have been canonical by the unanimous vote of the Sacred College, in consideration of his talents and virtues. We have listened to the two or three discordant voices in this harmonious concert of testimony, and have neglected to consider the assertions neither of the oldest nor of the latest enemies of pope Alexander VI ; and we have found them to be unreliable or untrue. We may now safely join the company of diarists, orators, princes, bishops and cardinals, who offered their obeisance and congratulations to the good and gifted Roderic de Borgia, now about to commence his pontifical reign.

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251. See Document 91.

CHAPTER XII.

Cardinal de Borgia proclaimed Pope Alexander VI.

Michael Ferno relates [1] that when, on the 10th of August, the cardinals had agreed to elect Roderic de Borgia, they sent, in the forepart of the night, a special squad of troops to guard his residence from invasion by the populace, while the corrupted Italian translation, " Conclavi Diversi " [2], makes the misleading statement that the palace was sacked about midnight.

On the following day, a Saturday, Holy Mass was said as usually, the preconcerted scrutiny took place and the Pontiff elect chose the name of Alexander VI, in honor, it is said, of pope Alexander III. After he had donned the papal white attire, the cardinals seated him on the step of the chapel altar and, one after another, presented him their veneration [3]. After this [4], a window was opened that faced the public square, a cross was protruded and the dean of the cardinal deacons called forth : " we have a Pope, the Most Reverend Lord Vicechancellor, who took the name of Alexander VI ". The waiting crowds answered with festive acclamations. The news was carried on the wings of the wind all over the City, and in a moment, the clergy and the people were hurrying to St. Peter's, with such enthusiasm and in such numbers, as had been witnessed never before. Whilst the multitudes

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1. Bibl. Vatic., Cod. 8656, p. 1.
2. Bibl. Vatic., Cod. 8407, f° 62.
3. Hartman Schedel : Munich, K. Staatsbibl., Cod. Lat. 716, f° 124.
4. At dawn, as reported by Ferno, ubi supra, Tucci and Merili ; or, more likely, between ten and eleven o'clock, as stated by Valori and the records of the Sacred Consistory : Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 278, n. 3.

were singing hymns of thanks to God, the Vatican doors were thrown open and the Pontiff made his appearance, carried in a sedan-chair to the altar of the basilica. Here, in the presence of all the people, the cardinals did him hommage again, and the other prelates were admitted to the kissing of the feet. After the usual divine service, the cardinals retired to their homes, and the Pope, with cardinal Sforza and the prelates of the palace, went to the Vatican to rest. " All weapons had been set aside and the bands of robbers had vanished away.

At night it seemed that Vulcan had set the whole City aflame ; bonfires were so numerous that the stars of heaven appeared to be of reddish-yellow. A general inexpressible joy was manifested in honor and applause of the one man " [5]. Nardi [6] explains these manifestations of enthusiasm, when he says that, " everywhere and principally at the Roman court, such a commotion had arisen as if God had elected this prince, to be his peculiar instrument in the performance of some manifestly divine work in his Church ; so great were the expectations conceived of him ".

Not only in Rome, but, as the name of the new Pontiff was heralded over the Pontifical States, lawlessness and unrest gave way to order and security everywhere. According to Cristofani [7] the news of the election quieted at once the incipient disturbances, and restored peace even as far as the distant town of Assisi.

On the following day the new Pontiff took up his administrative duties. A knight of Milan, Ambroise Mirabilia, who largely contributed to keeping peace in Rome, was continued in his office of Senator of the City. Wonderful changes took

5. Hartman Schedel : Munich, K. Staatsbibl. Cod Lat. 716, f° 124 ; Hier. Porcius, Comment., Rome, Bibl. Barberin. Cod. B. B. B. I, 13 ; Mich. Ferno, Conclave Alex. VI, Bibl. Vatic. Cod. 8656, p. 1.

6. Delle Histor. Fiorent. Edit. in 4° Lugdun. 1582. Lib. I, p. 9.

7. Storia d'Assisi, p. 358.

place in palace and court positions ; for, as Ferno [8] puts it, those who, under Innocent, had stuffed their stomachs, were expelled from their places, and such as had been satisfied with a meagre fare, while watching the grazing ox, were invited to more abundant provisions.

Whilst the Pontiff was thus at work, the Romans were preparing to honor him. Ferno [9] relates how the prefect and captains of the City, the commissioners, the deputies of the people and the other most prominent citizens, to the number of eight hundred [10], manifested, through the splendors of an illumination during the darkness of that night, what great joy the election had procured to them all. They all, on horseback, with burning flambeaux, went, at the second vigil, from the Capitol to the papal palace, a distance of more than a mile. The streets were brilliantly illuminated and the public places were resplendent ; it looked as if noonday had returned. I do not believe that Cleopatra ever received Marc Anthony with such splendor of torches. They rode around the palace and took the gates of the hill within their circle. The constellations seemed at once to be moving and the heavens themselves to be circling along the horizon. So numerous were the torches that they formed the most exquisite of all splendid sights. The Pontiff gave his blessing from the heights of the palace. The barriers being then removed and the gates opened, they went up the acclivity and were admitted to the palace yards. Here they formed into a circle and, by complicated evolutions, described the figure of a labyrinth ; making, all the while, the neighborhood resound with individual cheers and simultaneous acclamations. I could not refrain from assisting at the pageant, and I thought I was pre-

8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 281.

sent at the nocturnal worship of pagan times and of the raving seers bearing blazing fires to their fanatical rites [11].

Before proceeding with our narration of facts, we should consider a few disparaging remarks of secondary importance, made on the occasion of the election of pope Alexander VI.

Gregorovius [12] asserts that, when cardinal Borgia had heard the reading of the unexpected unanimous votes, he exclaimed: I, I am the Pope, the Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ ! that he ordered to be vested at once in papal garments and commanded the master of ceremonies to throw out slips of paper announcing his election to the people (!) Gregorovius saw fit not to refer to his authority, the senseless manuscript of the anonymous slanderer [13], which, as a historical source, is fatal to any statement.

From this source is also taken the discourse reported by Gordon [14] and mentioned by the Encyclopedia Britannica, by which the Pontiff-elect demanded, without delay, the submission of his electors, rebuked their vices and left them terrified, the pamphlet says. The Encyclopedia remarks, however, that the admonitory address to his son (Sic), Cesar, which may be read in Gordon, is an invention of the anonymous romancer.

We found in later revilers an echo of a third calumny originated by the nameless pamphleteer, intended to expose the Pope as a proud, arrogant, presumptuous being. He, pretendedly, was asked whether he would take the name of Calixtus ? No, he answered, we want the name of the renowned Alexander the conqueror !

We do not know whether pope Alexander VI ever express-

11. Cfr. Auctores passim.
12. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 311.
13. Rome, Bibl. Valicell., Cod. p. 201, f° 22 ; Bibl. Vitt. Eman., Mss. Jesuit. n. 1558, etc. ; Alibi.
14. Alexander VI, t. I, p. 23.

ed the reason of the selection of his name ; but, from his answer to the discourse of the Sienese orator, we may presume that he had chosen pope Alexander III as a model to follow. It was known that cardinal de Borgia had always stood up for the independence of the Church from kings and princes, and the speaker augured from the name borne also by his glorious countryman, that the authority of the Roman Church would be recovered and safeguarded by the new Pontiff. In answering, the Pope seemed to approve the orator's idea, and expressly mentioned the Sienese Alexander III, stating that he had compelled emperor Frederic to submit to pontifical authority [15].

Regarding the intimated arrogance and self-conceit of the newly elected Pope, there are well authenticated facts, that may help us in forming our judgment.

when announcing his election to archduke Sigismund of Austria and to the people of Terni, pope Alexander VI made the remark that among the cardinals there were men more meritorious than himself ; he admitted his insufficiency to bear the burden of governing the Universal Church, which he had assumed only to obey the will of God, who hath chosen the weak things of the world that he may confound the strong [16], and in the hope that God will sustain his frailty with the strength of his help ; and he begged the prince to have solemn prayers offered to the Lord, to obtain for his lowliness the graces needed during his administration [17].

To the orators of Lucca, who had highly praised him on the occasion of that city's obeisance, he publicly answered : I attribute to your kindness the great opinion that you have of us ; but what we cannot perform through ourselves we will make every effort to accomplish with the assistance of God.

15. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. B. B. B. I, 13 : Hier. Porcius, Comment.

16. I Cor., I, 28.

17. See Document 87.

In like manner did he respond to the delegates of Florence : It has caused us great pleasure, he said, to listen to your beautiful discourse recounting the great qualities bestowed on us by the Most High. We, however, acknowledge ourselves to be unworthy of your praises, and we take them as rather given for our instruction. But may God, who grants pardon and loves to save man, in his goodness, give strength to us and make prosperous the Holy See. Again to the Genoese, doing him homage, the Pontiff answered : Our natural qualities, should we possess any, are all due to the great God, to whom no mortal owes more than we. We beg you to persevere in your devotedness to the Holy See, our mother and teacher ; and, helped by you, we shall more easily be useful to Holy Church, under the protection of Him who has deigned to place us at her head.

On many other occasions he spoke the same language, whose two ideas : self-distrust and confidence in God, he chose as his maxim for the motto on his seal, " Ad Dominum cum tribularer clamavi et exaudivit me " [18], In my distress I cried to the Lord and he heard me [19].

To obtain the divine assistance, the new Pontiff made use of the ordinary means : prayer and other good works. We have noticed how he wrote to archduke Sigismund and to the people of Terni. Bosio [20] reports that pope Alexander VI, immediately after his election, wrote a very friendly brief to the Grand Master, cardinal d'Aubusson, and insistingly exhorted him to cause prayers to be said, that God may give him strength and wisdom in governing the Church for his holy service, take his authority and that of the Holy See under his protection and safeguard ecclesiastical liberty. On the

18. Ps., CXIX, I.
19. Oldoinus ad Ciaconium, Vitae Roman., Pontiff., p. 156 ; Leonetti, Papa Alessandro VI, vol. I, p. XXV.
20. Dell' Istoria di S. Giovanni Gierosolim., vol. II, p. 511.

day of his coronation he announced his accession to St. Peter's chair to the Christian princes and prelates, and the main burden of his briefs was an earnest request of public prayers, that he might, with the help of divine grace, perform well his grave duties in protecting the flock confided to him [21].

With his prayers to God, the Pontiff joined extraordinary alms to the poor, as we see in the papal account books. Thus, from the month of August, 1492, to the last day of May, 1493, he had at various times given orders to distribute among different classes of poor people sums of money amounting to three thousand one hundred and nearly seventy-eight gold florins [22].

The stupid manuscript further assures us [23] that one of the cardinals, whom at first it designates as Sforza but on the next page more decidedly as de' Medici, made, immediately after the election, a contumelious remark. Medici, it says, whispered into the ear of Lawrence Cibò these words : " We are the prey of a wolf, the most ravenous there is, who will devour us all if we do not take to flight ". The picture of this youth of eighteen summers getting wise a moment too late, and cautiously prophesying into a respected cardinal's ear, ought to be absurd enough not to be copied in earnest by Gregorovius [24], who tries to save his honor, however, by adding a " they-say ", instead of revealing his authority [25].

Panvinius [26] repeats the slur in a different form by saying

21. Contelorius, Elenchus Cardinalium, ap. Becchetti, Istoria degli ultimi Quattro Secoli della Chiesa, t. VI, p. 219.

22. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati 1492-1494, fo 73vo.

23. Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Eman., Mss. Jesuitici, no. 1558.

24. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 311.

25. How can we reconcile the ludicrous incident with the statement of Pastor, who writes (Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 283): Alexander's election was celebrated in Florence with ringing of bells and festivities ? Already before his coronation the Pope wrote to Piero de' Medici, assuring him of his friendship. Thus could Piero's brother, the cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, expect nothing but favors from the new Pontiff ".

26. Vita Alex. VI, p. 337.

that some of the electors were truthful prophets, when they denounced the whole conclave for electing most foolishly a Spaniard of concealed iniquity and supreme dissimulation, who was to bring them all to destruction. This variant of the story indicates both that Panvinius was no Spaniard and that cardinal de Borgia was publicly known as a virtuous man. It also proposes the puzzling fact as to how an actually bad man, conspicuous for forty years, could have deceived every one of his colleagues and companions so thoroughly, as to secure their gift of the highest dignity ; until, just after paying him their respectful homage, they looked with dismay into the secret recesses of his wicked heart ?

In spite of the universal acclamations of the people at the announcement of pope Alexander's election, their jubilant concourse at his first visit to St. Peter's basilica, and the brilliant feasts of several days celebrated in his honor, the anonymous pamphleteer has written that the Romans were so exasperated at the news that they threatened a revolution, and cast stones at the electors. Such information injures the informer only.

Gregorovius [27] minces the facts when admitting that " many " Romans were pleased at Borgia's election, and he further vents his spleen when giving, as reason for it, the new Pontiff's majestic appearance and the expectation of a brilliant reign from a man so fond of life's pleasures. Pastor [28] copies Gregorovius. But these historians did not know that cardinal de Borgia had always been the friend, the idol of the Roman people ; they supposed that the Romans did not know any better his more important qualities, than they themselves seem to know ; they did not observe peace and security

27. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 318.

28. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s 281.

returning to the City to accompany to St. Peter's the recognized defender of justice, nor did they notice the robbers and murderers disappear at the new Pontiff's apparition.

Like Rome, so had many other Italian cities better grounds than the man's good looks, to celebrate with splendid festivities the advent of pope Alexander VI. Sumptuous feasts and public rejoicings took place in Milan at the first news of his election ; the bells were rung in Florence and official festivals held in his honor [29]. Bologna did not forget its former student, now become its suzerain ; but, at the first announcement of his exaltation, it made great demonstrations of joy, and lit up the city with great profusion. The lamps and torches on the clock-tower were so numerous, that they set on fire the wooden turret that supported the bell, which tumbled down to the public square and broke into pieces with a loud report [30]. The election of the new Pontiff was solemnly celebrated with religious thanksgivings in the marquisate of Montferrat. The duke of Blandrate, the orator sent by its ruler on the occasion of his public homage in Rome, relates that Marquis Boniface and his subjects were overjoyed at the happy news. The grounds were strewn with flowers and the streets adorned with a light covering, while at all the altars holy incense was burning; and the prince, accompanied by a numerous clergy, went in procession, praising Almighty God, because nothing better could have happened to him and to the Holy Roman See [31].

It is but natural that the accession of pope Alexander VI excited great joy in his archiepiscopal city of Valencia, where the welcome tidings arrived in the morning of the 20th of August. Great feasts were celebrated with a solemn proces-

29. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 283 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 45.

30. Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 198.

31. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. B. B. B. I. 13 ; Porcii Comment.

sion, during which the " Te Deum " was sung ; and public congratulations were offered to the Pontiff's sister, Beatrix de Borgia [32].

Xativa, his birthplace, was not outdone by any city in public rejoicing and festivities on this occasion [33].

In spite of these joyful demonstrations in Florence and other places, the Florentine historian, Guicciardini [34] afterwards wrote that pope Alexander's election filled the people of that time with fright and horror ; whilst Ferdinand of Naples shed tears, in prophesying to his queen that it would be most pernicious to Italy and to all Christendom. The neopagan renegade Tomasi [35] and his copyist, B. Gaddi [36], assert that princes and plebeians everywhere answered with lamentations the announcement of the election. Pastor, however, justly declares [37] that the general assertion of Guicciardini, the violent enemy of the Borgias, is absolutely false ; and he calls equally false the assertion of Tomasi, which by mistake he attributes to Villari [38].

Ranke [39] denies also Guicciardini's story regarding the Neapolitan king, who, in fact, wrote at once to the Pontiff-elect a private most friendly letter of congratulation [40]. Already on the 15th of August, he directed his captain, Virginio Orsini, to call on the Pope, in order to thank him for his kind dispositions, to ask him to behave well towards the King, whom he might consider as his good and obedient son, and to bring to his notice the future good and great results of their

32. Ximeno, Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, t. I, p. 67. See Document 1.
33. Document 1.
34. Istoria d'Italia, Ed. 1882, vol. I, p. 25.
35. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds franç., Cod. 12186 : Vie de César Borgia, trad. fr., f° 8.
36. Rome, Bibl. Corsiniana, Cod. 1323, or 33 A. 2. : a late Ms., f° 4.
37. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 282 ; Cfr. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 321.
38. Ibid., s. 283, footn. 1.
39. Geschichten, 22.
40. Pastor, ubi supra, s. 284.

mutual friendship, as well as the unrest and detriment of a possible ill-advised non-fatherly conduct [41] ! On the 21st, he ordered his secretary, Giovanni Pontano, to convey his thanks to the Pontiff, for the interest taken in behalf of Beatrice, queen of Hungary, Ferdinand's daughter. In the same letter he supposes that Pontano has written already to Milan and Florence to express the King's reciprocal congratulations at the election of cardinal de Borgia to the papacy, and his joy that the lot had fallen to His Holiness ; and, should Pontano not have done so yet, to do it immediately [42]. On the 23d, the King wrote to his envoy in Florence, as follows : The representative of the duke of Milan has shown us today a letter from him, the first part of it stating that His Illustrious Lordship was extremely delighted at the election of the new Pontiff ; because, considering his virtues, wisdom and experience, he had the firm confidence that he would govern very well, and to his greater honor, the Christian flock, confided to him by Our Lord God. We have answered that we also feel the same pleasure and rejoicing ; since, in our opinion, the actual effects will, for the said reasons, be such as the lord duke expects [43].—The crafty king of Naples was not dejected, but confident of either winning pope Alexander's condescension or outwitting his wisdom and justice.

Gregorovius [44] and Pastor [45] assert that the Venetians uttered their dissatisfaction in bitter terms ; but both rely on the wild utterances of James Trotti, somebody's envoy in Milan, who was untrue both as reporter and as prophet. The tone and substance of the address of the Venetian Seigniory at their act of obeisance to pope Alexander VI are quite different. Their orator enters upon his task with these words :

41. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, vol. II, P. I, p. 147.
42. Ibid., p. 156.
43. Ibid., p. 160.
44. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 45.
45. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 284.

If we read of the holy Christian commonwealth having ever been jubilant at the creation of a Sovereign Pontiff, we dare say that Christendom and we Venetians, in particular, have this time better reasons for rejoicing and exultation, at the blessed elevation of Your Holiness to the summit of the Apostolate. His whole discourse is an eloquent justification of his introductory sentence. He further states that all Christians rejoice and give thanks to the Most High, who has given to them a man like pope Alexander VI to be their common father [46].

Some individuals were not pleased with the choice of the conclave ; but this must cause no surprise, since no election ever satisfied all persons interested. Yet, after we shall have taken notice of the successive acts of homage, done by the cities, powers and princes to the new Pope, we shall feel entitled to ask : Who were the men of any importance to be actually discontented ?

We have observed before how cardinal de Borgia was well and favorably known by the rulers and the clergy of nearly all Christian countries. Both Gregorovius [47] and Pastor [48] testify that by them all he was held in high consideration at the time of his election. They both quote the German chronicler, Hartman Schedel, who, indeed, not only praises him for his great qualities and deeds, but also relates that all nations had a high opinion of his virtues [49].

The universal pleasure at pope Alexander's election was further manifested by the splendid solemnities of his coronation, which were enhanced through the presence of not only the ordinary ambassadors and envoys at the Roman court, but also of special representatives of several princes [50].

46. Rome, Bibl. Barberin. Cod. B. B. B. I. 13 : Porcii Comment.
47. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 321.
48. Ubi supra, s. 285.
49. Munich. K. Staatsbibl. Cod. Lat. 716, post fm 124.
50. Cfr. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, vol. II, P. I, p. 163.

CHAPTER XIII.

Coronation of Pope Alexander VI.

The 26th of August, 1492, a Sunday, was the date set for the solemn coronation of the new Pontiff, and for his taking possession of his diocese of Rome at St. John of Lateran [1]. Preparations were commenced immediately. Already on the 17th, Manfredi [2] had learned in Florence that the Romans were making ready for greater magnificence than was ever displayed on such an occasion before. Gregorovius was evidently suffering of the nightmare after reading of pope Alexander's glorious coronation, when he wrote [3] that a Pope can improvise a triumphal festivity at any moment, to make a show of himself ; for he keeps constantly his actors and their outfit prepared, he says. The contemporary Platina records that no Roman Pontiff ever had a more brilliant coronation [4], and the slanderer Infessura himself states that, on this occasion, " there was done for pope Alexander VI, especially by the people of Rome, more than had ever been done for any other new Pontiff [5].

There are still preserved several contemporary descriptions of the coronation solemnities. We have the one of Michael Ferno in manuscript [6] and in rare print ; as also its interpolated Italian translation [7]. Pietro Delfini sent a concise,

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1. Auct. passim. Ciaconius Vitae Roman. Pontiff., p. 149, mistakes when giving " Pridie Idus Sept., September the 12th.
2. Capelli, Atti e Memorie, vol. IV, p. 323.
3. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 47.
4. Bzovius, Baronii Contin., vol. XVIII, p. 372.
5. Interpolation of Burchard's Diary, t. II, p. 4.
6. Bibl. Vatic. Lat. Cod. 8656, p I, f° 1.
7. Bibl. Vatic. Latin., Cod. 8407, f° 64.

edifying account of them to one of his fellow-religious [8], and Corio afterwards relates them at great length [9]. We shall follow the report of Jerome Porcius, because, being the papal mitre-bearer on the occasion, he had the best opportunity to hear and see every detail [10].

On the morning of August the 26th, a procession started from the Vatican palace, headed by officials garbed in silk, with silver-plated canes in their hands, who, marching two and two, opened the way through the multitudes. Then came, in like order, the city magistrates dressed in purple, and these were followed by the bishops wearing gold vestments, and white mitres. Behind them advanced the cardinal-deacons in dalmatics and seated on horses covered in white, then the cardinal-priests in chasubles, and the cardinal-bishops attired in precious copes and silk mitres. Alexander VI finally appeared between two cardinal-deacons. He was followed by prothonotaries and the whole army of clerics in dense ranks.

The Pontiff made a halt at the first step of St. Peter's basilica, where a carpet had been spread ; he sat down in a gilded chair, and admitted the canons to the kissing of the feet. He the ascended to the chapel of St. Andrew, and here, sitting on a higher platform in St. Peter's golden chair, he received the homage of each cardinal to whom he fraternally extended a corner of his cope to kiss. In the meantime, a divine service was chanted, and the master of ceremonies proceeded to the middle of the church, holding a reed and, attached to it, a flake of cotton which he lit, calling out three times : Holy Father, thus passes the glory of the world ! Soon after, the Pope went to St. Peter's altar to say Holy

8. Epist., lib. III, Epist., 38, ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 3, n. 1.
9. Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 463, seq.
10. Rome Bibl. Barberin., Cod. B. B. B. I. 13, Comment. ; also in rare print.

Mass, knelt in adoration and donned the sacred vestments. He celebrated with all becoming gravity. After that, he presented himself before all the people from the hall over the portico of St. Peter's, and here the first of the Cardinal-deacons, Francis Piccolomini, placed the triple crown on his brow.

In the meantime Roman noblemen, in garments glistening with gold, stood on the square, waiting in the saddle. The steed that was to carry the Pontiff stood there champing its bit, and the banners of Rome were waving in the wind. The Pope, finally, went forward, surrounded by a large phalanx of prelates, and mounted his horse under a canopy of purple. All of a sudden was heard the flourish of trumpets and the shrill sound of tubas; and the captain of arms set in motion his men on foot, proceeding in serried files alongside the streets to be travelled. Then advanced the Christian standard, the Cross, our only hope of salvation.

All the public places were provided with elevated stages, upon which the Roman people, both old and young, had gathered in festive attire to behold the coronation spectacle. The concourse of people from every direction was so great that some remained under tents at the outskirts of the City, while a great number were pushed away by the crowds, not without danger of life, in some cases. The churches of the City were filled with odoriferous clouds and all the bells resounded. Violets, myrtle and incense, and an abundance of myrrh were wafting all kinds of perfumes among the masses. The eyes of the people were fastened on Alexander alone, who would not have been safe, but for the fasces of the Roman magistrates, who were near by and who thus protected the crowned Pontiff from the squeezing multitudes.

When the procession reached the castle of Sant' Angelo, the Jews of Rome were there, and on bent knee they presented

the Hebrew law to the Pope saying : Alexander, High Priest, whom heaven and earth, the sea and the world reverence, we respectfully supplicate thy Holiness to deign to confirm and approve this law, which the Almighty God has revealed to Moses on the heights of Sinai, and all the privileges granted to us by thy holy predecessors. And they enumerated many praises of their Hebrew language. The Pope listened to them and answered with these words : Hebrew men, we praise and respect your holy law, since it was given to your ancestors by God Almighty through the ministry of Moses ; but We disapprove and condemn your observance and false interpretation of it, because the apostolic faith teaches that the Redeemer, whom you expect in vain, has come already before this time, namely, Our Lord Jesus Christ, who, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, lives and reigns God forever and ever.

After the mole of Hadrian was passed, the pompous corps of the delegates of princes took the lead ; and twelve white horses, caparisoned with gilded trappings, were sent ahead, in care of twelve handsome young men, in golden papal livery , conducting them by the bridle. Then did the Vicar of Christ enter the City. Altars, generally with pious ornamentations, were erected along his route, which the Romans had covered with linen cloth. Most of these temporary structures sheltered children, that sang sibylline or newly-written songs, to which the people answered in chorus: Long live Alexander!

Arrived at the Thermæ of Agrippa, he had men to scatter coins struck with his own insignia. He went farther by the Capitol, the forum of Nerva and the temple of the Peace, by the ponds of Nero and the Amphitheatre. He, finally, entered, a weakened man, into the Lateran church. At once he knelt down in a suppliant posture to give thanks to the Most High, not without shedding tears and giving signs of such emotion,

that very many there present thought him to be but half-alive; but, after his prayer was over, he stood up without any help. According to custom, he gave two coins of gold of his own denomination and two of silver, that the Romans call carleni, to each of the cardinals, and one to each prelate.

The solemnities of the coronation having thus come to an end, the Pontiff retired to the vestry. At sundown or night-fall he returned to the Vatican and remained at the papal palace. His return was an admirable spectacle of burning lights and a yet greater expense for its self-sacrificing contributors. This was the night of which we read : And night shall be my light in the pleasures of man ; this, I say, is the night that shall be lit up, that has restored innocence to the fallen and joy to the afflicted. Indeed, Alexander always was most liberal, especially towards all classes of the Romans; he has filled the hungry with good things and has supported the destitute ; he has fostered the men of talents. Therefore, have public gladness and mirth taken hold of large and small.

Such is the simple, naive report of Jerome Porcius, who neglects, however, several particulars of no little interest, which we here add from other contemporaries. Valori [11] informs his lords of Florence that thirteen brilliant squadrons of soldiers, horse and foot, commanded by all the condottieri, the captain of the palace guard and the captain of the papal army, were marching in line and keeping order. The same ambassador notices not only the members of the pontifical court but also the attendants of the cardinals, garbed in various colors and liveries. He further specifies that all bishops and cardinals were in the procession on horseback, wearing their mitres and the rich regalia of their respective ranks, while the Pontiff was on his steed in flowing cope and

11. Ap. Burchard, Diarium, t. | II, p. 614.

crowned with the sparkling tiara. He also relates the remarkable detail of Our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, with a lighted lantern, which was carried in front of his Vicar on earth. Furthermore, Valori [12], Hartman Schedel [13], Pietro Delfini [14], Michael Ferno [15], Brognolo, the envoy of Mantua [16] and others make mention of the rich decorations of the houses along the whole itinerary, their walls being hung with draperies, silks and gold or silver cloth. They all admire the beautiful arches of triumph, spanning the way in several places, and do not forget the bands playing all kinds of musical instruments, besides many other particulars of the celebration.

The grand spectacle lifts the thoughts of Delfini to the splendors of the Church triumphant, and Ferno describes it with a series of exclamations. Valori reports that the oldest members of the Roman court agree in saying, that they have never seen festivities more sumptuous and magnificent. Brognolo writes in like manner : Our Lord Pope was crowned last Sunday with greater pomp and more triumph than was ever before a Pontiff of our times ; all the Roman barons were present as also the Lord of Camerino, the Baglioni and nearly all the prominent men of Perugia [17].

The demonstrations of joy at the election and coronation of pope Alexander VI were as cordial as solemn. Scores of Romans essayed their oratorical and poetical talents, to praise his great qualities and express their most sanguine expectations from his future glorious reign. Jerome Porcius relates some of their efforts, which abound in printed and manuscript literature of the time. Galeotto del Carretto, undoubtedly a

12. Ibid.
13. Munich, K. Staatsbibl. Cod. Lat. 716.
14. Epist. Lib. III, Ep. 38 ; ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 3, n. 1.
15. Bibl. Vatic., Cod. 8656, p. I.
16. Ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 819.
17. Ubi supra.

Roman, who had personally known cardinal Roderic de Borgia, wrote a lengthy eclogue, whose simple rhymes are of more historical weight than the biting lines of later Neapolitan poets. He states before the people of his day that " the new Pope is prudent, liberal and magnanimous, is adorned with virtue and free of all crime " [18].

There is one portion of the coronation ceremony which is not touched upon by the chroniclers of the day, namely, the irksome labor to which the Pope was subjected, whilst the cardinals and prelates were allowed to rest from their long ride under a broiling sun. We find, indeed, in the registers of pope Alexander VI a large number of diplomas, grants and concessions given from the Lateran on the 26th of August, 1492 ; and these documents indicate that the Pope was kept busy, in the apartments of his cathedral, in taking cognizance of, and affixing his consent, " placet ", to, a large number of requests and supplicas of persons of all ranks and conditions. We have noticed already that cardinals Caraffa, Giuliano della Rovere and, probably, all other cardinals were favored on that day. So also were a certain Raphael and a Francis de Villaplana, the one a canon of Ilerda and the other a parish priest of Majorca, whom the Pontiff secured against all molestation resulting from the prosecution of their father and grandfather by the Spanish inquisition [19]. The seven sons of a Lewis Gonsalvez were also in fear of personal harm, while their father was threatened with a condemnation by the inquisitors of Spain. They submitted a supplica to the crowned Pontiff, who forbade anyone to disturb them, confirmed the four, who were clerics already, in their rights to present and future benefices and dignities, and allowed the

18. Rome, Bibliotheca Vittorio Emm., Mss. Sessoriani, no. 413, c. 58 :
questo è prudente, liberal, magnanimo, Pien di virtute e vacuo d'ogni crimine.

19. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Secret., an. I, II, III, lib. III, Regest. 869, fo 16vo.

three others to enter the clerical rank and enjoy its privileges, if they should wish to do so [20].

An exquisite medal, of a diameter of one and fifteen sixteenths inches, was struck in commemoration of the event. The obverse is a good left profile of the Pope, bareheaded and vested with the cope ; the reverse, a coronation scene presented by a dozen of figurines, with the inscription " Coronat ".It is, probably, a work of the contemporary Milanese engraver Caradosso [21].

Corio [22] asserts that the last act of the coronation performances was the verifying of the Pontiff's sex ; and Ferno, who was no bigoted papist but an ardent disciple of Pomponius Laetus, so Gregorovius says [23], alludes to a pretended custom of that kind. Bianchi Giovini [24] justly observes that Corio was not, as he states himself, admitted to the church to see ; but wrote, from vulgar hearsay, a legendary incident, that, to have any sense, should have been placed at the head of his description and not at its end. Thuasne [25], although hostile to the Church, makes the following remark: It has been believed that the chamber-chair, " Sedia stercoraria ", was used to verify the sex of a newly-elected Pope, and malice, combined with ignorance, has long perpetuated this legend as false as was the existence of Popess Joan, with whom it is associated "[26]. The unsavory tale was once a strong weapon of Protestantism against the Papacy, but no educated man believes it any longer.

Corio [27] has also carefully gathered the inscriptions, distichs

20. Ibid., f° 12.
21. Armand, Les Médailleurs Italiens, t. II, p. 63 and t. III, p. 180.
22. Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 469, and ap. Burchard, Diar., t II p. 620.
23. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 47.
24. Esame critico degli atti e docum. relat. alla favola della Papessa Giovanna, p. 181.
25. Burchard, Diar., t. I, p. 105, footn. 1.
26. Cfr. Burchard, Diar., t. I, pp. 105-106 ; Ducange, Glossarium, Art. Stercoraria ; Kirchenlexicon, Art. Johanna die angebliche Päpstin.
27. Storia etc. Ubi supra.

and epigrams composed by the latinists or poets of the time in honor of the new Pontiff. Instead of his qualities or high office, they repeatedly glorified, in exaggerated pagan style, the emblem of his escutcheon, the Borgian ox, and gave to Gregorovius an occasion to parody the whole feast by turning it, harmlessly, yet not unwittily, into a celebration of a discovery of the Egyptian god, Apis [28]. The historian did not, however, notice how empty were all these superficial phrases, when he wrote [29] that they manifested the thoroughly pagan convictions of the time. No one believed in ancient idolatry and its very expressions were odious to many. Pietro Delfini relates that many grave men did not much approve such praises as made a god of Alexander [30].

Pope Alexander himself seems to have understood not only the ridicule of such a literature, but also the dangerous tendency of rejuvenated pagan style, that led many into the evil company of corrupt gods and goddesses. He did much for learning and science ; but, to the eventual detriment of his memory, he never pampered the neo-pagan literati.

The days following the coronation were days of constant labor. The Pontiff had yet to make the last preparations for his first consistory, or solemn meeting with the cardinals, which was set for the last day of the month, and wherein his first cousin, Giovanni de Borgia, senior, should be promoted to the cardinalitial dignity ; the higher officers of the new administration should be appointed or confirmed, and many benefices and dignities, still vacant, were to be distributed among cardinals and officials of the papal court and of the late conclave. It was, moreover, but natural to the lover of order and justice, to feel anxious for the prompt and complete

28. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 46.
29. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 319.
30. Caesare magna fuit, nunc [Roma est maxima. Sextus regnat Alexander : [Ille vir, iste deus).

restoration of public peace and the necessary punishment of the murders that had been committed between the last sickness of pope Innocent VIII and his election : over two hundred and twenty in number, Infessura says [31]. The consistory took place and public security was rapidly returning in the neighborhood of Rome, but the Pope was soon and often to be disturbed in his pressing work by a succession of minor, yet unavoidable solemnities.

31. Ap. Raynaldi, Annal. Ec- | cles., ad an. 1492, no. XXXI.

CHAPTER XIV.

Solemn Obeisances and Congratulations of temporal Princes and Powers.

Hartman Schedel writes [1] : The Pontiff's repute was high in all countries, and when they heard of his elevation, congratulations were sent to him from every direction. The Italian princes, who were not forced by seas or impassable mountains to defer till Springtime, sent to him at once such delegations as, for splendor and stateliness, they had never sent before, because there was not one who did not dispatch a son, a brother, a princely person or men who had held the most honorable positions, in order to recognize him as the true Vicar of Christ on earth.

Some rulers, like Ferdinand of Naples [2], sent private letters and agents to felicitate the new Pontiff and secure his favor ; but the city of Siena was the first to offer to him public homage and solemn obeisance. Its orators were the distinguished latinist, Angelus Politiano [3] and the great jurist, Bartholomew Socini [4]. The latter had learned his address by heart but, embarrassed by the Pontiff's majestic appearance, he was unable to speak and knelt at his feet. Pope Alexander raised him up saying : Bartholomew, thy silence has pleaded well the cause of the Sienese ; and he made him a consistorial advocate and let him go away, a firm friend. Politiano declared his joy at seeing the Pontiff arrived at the summit of earthly grandeur ; because, he said, he had obtain-

1. Munich, K. Staatsbibl. Cod. Latin. 716, post fm 124.
2. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, vol. II, P. I, p. 147.
3. Labbe, Concilia, t. XIII, p. 1468.
4. Oldoinius, Add. ad Ciaconium, Vitae Roman. Pontiff., p. 157.

ed the pontifical dignity, solely through his own merits. He recalled the laudable deeds, which he performed as head of the Sacred College, for so many years. He praised his magnanimity, which elevated him above all other men, and foretold that the Church would rise to her ancient glory, through the universal respect for his virtuous life and all his great qualities [5].

Several writers remark that the new Pontiff received all delegations with great kindness. His answer to the discourse of Politiano is an example of royal courtesy, of natural eloquence and of historical science [6].

The community of Fano hastened to send their envoy, Andrew de' Negusanti, to renew their oath of fidelity to pope Alexander VI and to object to the suspicious occupation of their district, by soldiers sent by Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro, at the instigation of the duke of Milan [7].

Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, was not slow in sending his ambassadors to do homage to his new suzerain. Pope Alexander VI received them well and wrote a most friendly letter to the duke himself [8].

The ruler of Bologna, Giovanni Bentivoglio, and the senate dispatched, about the middle of September, an embassy to congratulate the Pontiff and beg from him the confirmation of the privileges accorded by his predecessors to the city and to the Bentivoglios. Their representatives were the prothonotary Antongaleazo Bentivoglio, Ludovico Sampieri, Giovanni Sala and Mino de' Rossi, with the Latin orator Gian Galeazo : all men of high standing, escorted by fifty cavaliers. They obtained good promises at once and, towards the end

5. H. de l'Epinois, Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 394 ; Leonetti, Alessandro VI, t. I, pp. 238, 239.

6. See Document 93.

7. Amiani, Memorie Storiche di Fano, P. II. p. 71.

8. Ugloni, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 66.

of the month, a papal envoy brought to Bologna a brief granting all that they had requested [9].

The spokesman of Lucca, who testified also to the joy of all Christianity at pope Alexander's election, highly extolled the excellent choice unanimously made and the virtues of the elect, his prudence and experience; and he received praises for his eloquent expression of the city's traditional devotion to the apostolic See [10].

To please the new Pontiff with unusual honors and to improve his relations with the king of Naples and the Florentines, Ludovico Sforza, " il Moro ", the regent of Milan, proposed soon after the papal election to the latter powers to make their solemn act of obeisance in common at the same time [11]. The project seemed to be agreed upon until, in the latter part of November, the king of Naples learned from Florence that difficulties might arise from it ; and he was informed from Rome that the Pope was satisfied with receiving separately the homage of each of those States [12]. Piero de' Medici and his colleagues of the Florentine delegation alleged the inconveniences of postponing any longer, and also the length of time that a joint solemnity would consume in Rome ; but Guicciardini [13] attributes the failure of the scheme to the vanity of Piero, who wanted to make a show of his wealth and magnificence. Ludovico il Moro considered the defeat of his plans as a conspiracy of Naples and Florence. His evil conduct and worse designs against the lawful duke of Milan, the son-in-law of king Ferdinand, were haunting him and foreboding future punishment.

Pastor [14] mentions also the duke of Ferrara as one of the

9. Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 198 ; Gozzadini, Giovanni II. Bentivoglio, p. 92.
10. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. B. B. B. I. 13 : Porcii Comment.
11. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, vol. II, P. I, p. 161.
12. Ibid., p. 170, 198.
13. Istoria d'Italia, vol. I, p. 27.
14. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 284.

parties, who were to jointly make their obeisance to pope Alexander VI ; but already during the first half of the month of November [15], Ercole d'Este sent forth a magnificent embassy, consisting of his young son, Alfonso ; Nicholas Est, bishop of Adria ; his regular ambassador in Rome, Giovanni Boccaccio, bishop of Modena, and of other representatives, richly escorted [16]. The Pontiff received Alfonso and his companions with much kindness and, after their return, the duke wrote to the Pope, on the 3d of January, 1493, a special letter of thanks [17].

Muzzi[18] relates that, long before this, on the eve of St. Petronius's feast, October the 3d, Giovanni Gonzaga arrived in Bologna with fifty men on horseback, on his way to Rome, in order to congratulate the Pope, in the name of his brother, the marquis of Mantua. The orator of this prince made the remark that, to avoid the accusation of flattery from envious persons and, we may add, from some late historians, like Gregorovius [19], copied by Pastor [20], he would give but one indication of the former cardinal de Borgia's greatest merits, which was, that, when there was question of anything regarding the preservation or advancement of religious interests, he was always the first to be consulted [21].

As soon as the idea of a common homage had been abandoned, the Florentines dispatched a splendid embassy, at whose head stood their first citizen, Piero de' Medici, with their spokesman, the eloquent humanist, Gentile Becchi, bishop of Arezzo. The principal thought of the latter's discourse was furnished by the Pontiff's lawful and unanimous

15. Trinchera, ubi supra, p. 188.
16. Frizzi, Memorie per la Storia di Ferrara, vol. IV, p. 163 ; Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 200.
17. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 33.
18. Ubi supra, p. 199.
19. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 45.
20. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 284.
21. Porcius, ubi supra.

election ; and he explained this exceptional event by extolling his great qualities, in such praises that pope Alexander declared himself unworthy of them, if they were not spoken in a sense of admonition [22].

The duke of Tortona, Hermes Sforza, led the embassy of his brother, Giovanni Galeazo, the duke, and of his uncle, Ludovico il Moro, the regent of Milan. He passed through Bologna, accompanied by the count of Gaiazzo, Francis Sforza and Nicholas di Coreggio, his colleagues, and by a troop of more than four hundred horse [23]. Jason Mayno was the fifth delegate and the orator for the occasion. They were received by the Pontiff in public consistory, together with over three hundred attendants, on the 5th of December [24]. Mayno's discourse was the event of the day. It was printed in Rome at once, copied and reprinted, either in its entirety or in part, several times afterwards [25]. After praising the cardinals for their intelligent choice, relating incidents of the Pontiff's youth and reciting his great mental and bodily qualities, Mayno drew this conclusion : " There is no need that thou shouldst learn from another during thy pontificate, thou alone art free of all imputation of ignorance. Thou knowest perfectly what is suitable or necessary to the Holy See and the religion of Christ, what is becoming a Roman Pontiff, what is allowed and what is more beneficial for him. Thou needest not another's advice in thy abundance of wisdom ; consult rather thyself, obey thyself, have thy own way, take thyself as thy only model. By so doing thou shalt more truly be the pastor and the example of us all, thy every action shall be our instruction ; thou shalt never go astray if

22. Porcius, ubi supra.
23. Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 200 ; Gozzadini, Giovanni II. Bentivoglio, p. 92. Ref. to Ghirardacci.
24. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 9.
25. Thuasne, Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 9, footn. 1 ; Cfr. Rome, Bibl. Vittor. Eman., Mss. Sessoriani, Cod. 314, f° 148.

thou shalt never depart from thyself. Then shall Christianity, confided to thy wise judgment, be the most fortunate ". And he finishes by telling the Pope what special great results are expected from his reign [26]. We copy the principal parts of the discours, as Document 93b.

Four delegates of Genoa, followed by forty attendants and the Genoese merchants of Rome, were honorably received in the City on the 2d of December. On the 12th they were admitted by the Pontiff into public consistory to offer the solemn obeisance of the republic. Their speaker, James Spinola, made a very elegant address, in which he manifested the great pleasure procured by the unanimous election of so worthy a man. He farther insisted on what Genoa had done towards the defense of the Christians. The Pope, taking these services as the theme of his response, finished by declaring his intention of continuing, with the further assistance of the Genoese, the efforts of his uncle, Calixtus III, against the cruel Turks [27].

Burchard [28] relates that Henry, king of England, had, on the 6th of December, ordered his ambassadors at the Roman court, John, bishop of Durham, and Giles di Luca, to do homage, in his name, to the new Pontiff. On the 14th, they were introduced to the consistory, and the bishop poorly delivered a well-written oration.

Venice sent, to make the official obeisance of the republic, four of its most prominent citizens, among whom Sebastian Baduarius, who was to speak in the name of the Doge and of the Seigniory. These representatives entered Rome on the 6th of December, and were received in public consistory on the following 17th. Baduarius was lavish in his praises of the superior qualities of the Pontiff. He expressed not

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26. Porcii Comment.
27. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 8, 18; Hier. Porcius ubi supra.
28. Ibid. p. 18.

only the great joy of the Venetians at pope Alexander's accession, because no better pastor could have been given to the Church, but also their confidence that he would be the great shield of the faithful of Christ in the dangers that threatened them. The Pope answered by giving thanks for the sacrifices made by the republic in the warfare against the Turks, and pledging his zealous co-operation in the future [29].

King Ferdinand of Naples was not backward in his demonstrations of respect. He dispatched as representatives, escorted by from seven hundred to eight hundred horse, four bishops and four high dignitaries of his kingdom, and, at their head, his second son, Frederic, prince of Altamura. Frederic was honorably received in Rome on the 11th of December, and stopped at the palace of cardinal Giuliano della Rovere. He was admitted by the Pope to a private audience, and, on the 21st, to the public consistory [30]. The orator, Zeno, bishop of San Marco, was profuse in praises of the Pontiff and the recognition of his legitimate authority. He added, in particular, that it was his master's wish to always assist His Holiness and the Roman ecclesiastical power ; and, should it be necessary to preserve its peace or to increase the authority of the Holy See, that he would take up arms and carry his victorious banners against whomsoever [31]. The Pontiff expressed his satisfaction at the presence of prince Frederic, and honored him, during the next following Christmas solemnities, with a blessed sword and the beaver hat : a distinction which, it seems, was conferred on princes intending to visit and deliver the holy city of Jerusalem [32].

29. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 19 ; Porcius, Comment. in Bibl. Barberini, Cod. B. B. B. I. 13 ; Leonetti, Alessandro VI, t. I, p. 241.

30. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VIII, s. 324 ; Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 14, 19, 20.

31. King Ferdinand was at this very time actually trying to impair both the temporal and the spiritual power of the Pope.

32. Porcius, Ibid. ; Burchard, Ibid., p. 26.

Prince Frederic remained in Rome till the 10th of January, 1493, when he sailed for Naples, after he had had several other interviews with the Sovereign Pontiff and had slept one night at the papal palace [33].

All these latter particulars, plainly told by at least two eye-witnesses, one of whom was an actor in some of them, prove how utterly deceiving Infessura is. This diarist [34] asserts with the authority of " they-say ", that the prince admonished pope Alexander, before the consistory of the 21st of December, not to grant to king Ladislas of Hungary a dispensation of his marriage with Eleonora—it ought to be Beatrix— daughter of king Ferdinand; for which favor, he says, several thousand ducats had been offered. But, as the Pope intended to grant it, they had many angry disputes together, so that prince Frederic left in anger and went to Ostia. Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere left Rome with him, because being in favor of the prince's father, he became such an enemy of the Pope, that he would not return to the City any more, but made ready the fortress of Ostia to resist an assault. Additional facts, however, prove, in spite of Infessura, that Giuliano della Rovere was, on Christmas day, one of the cardinals to conduct to his own palace the prince who had just received the sword of honor ; that the same cardinal supported, on the 29th of December, before the Pope, an opinion of Burchard on a question of rubrics [35] ; that, finally, Giuliano della Rovere received several benefices during the months of January, February and March, 1493. Infessura's story has, moreover, hardly the merit of intrinsic probability, and one may wonder that Raynaldi [36] became his dupe on this occasion again.

The marquis of Montferrat was, on the 6th of February,

33. Burchard, Ibid., pp. 23, 24, 32, 33.
34. His interpolation in Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 6.
35. Burchard, Diarium, t. II, 26, 29.
36. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1492, no. XXXII.

1493, the last of the Italian princes to do solemn homage. The orator introduced his praises with the remark that he would give them not to flatter, but neither was he to appear as slighting by silence the Pontiff's great qualities ; and wished to approve, by speaking the truth, the judicious decision of his electors. The Pope answered by reciting in wonderful order the ancient services rendered by the Marquis's ancestors [37].

At the end of his Commentary, Porcius promises to report also the beautiful orations delivered at the solemn acts of obeisance of the duke of Savoy, of the kings of France, England, Portugal and Hungary, of the Emperor, of the foreign princes and, lastly, of the kings of Spain ; but these interesting documents have escaped our research.

We learn from a letter of Ferdinand of Naples [38] that Charles VIII of France had, in the beginning of the month of December, decided to send Andrew d'Espinay, cardinal of Bordeaux, to make obeisance in his name, and he personally did homage to pope Alexander VI when, in January, 1495, the latter virtually was his prisoner in Rome.

In the month of March, 1493, Steno Sture, the regent of Sweden, forwarded to the papal court a number of fine horses and of costly ermine and sable furs, as a token of his joy at pope Alexander's election [39].

The representatives of cardinal Peter d'Aubusson, Grand Master of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, appeared, on the 10th of March, 1493, before the Pontiff and the sacred consistory to perform his act of obeisance. Their speaker, the archbishop of Rhodes, related the extraordinary delight of the Christians of the East at the election of pope Alexan-

37. Porcius, Commentar.
38. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, vol. II. P. I, p. 213.
39. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 879, f° 100, ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 286, footn. 2.

der VI. The Grand Master had prescribed days of fast and of solemn supplications for the success of his reign ; fires of rejoicing had been lighted everywhere. The greater part of the discourse was an expression of confidence that now an end would be put to the Mohammedan domination, and the liberated Christians would be united again with the Roman moter Church. The orator further explained the political and other circumstances of the time, that were greatly to assist in the attainment of the universal wishes and of the ardent longings of the Orient ; and he begged the Pontiff to take pity on the suffering people and devoted knights. few of whom were allowed by perils and the sword to reach the age of fifty years [40].

On the 20th of February, 1493, the king of Hungary made his solemn obeisance, through his envoy, the bishop of Nitracht [41].

And on the same day the archbishop of St. Andrews offered to the Pope the respectful homages of the king of Scotland [42].

On the 15th of March, the emperor elect, Maximilian, did solemn homage to pope Alexander VI, through the ministry of Ludovico Bruno, sent to Rome for the purpose.

On the 21st of May, the new Pontiff received also the congratulations of the duke of Savoy [43].

The act of obeisance of the kings of Spain took place on the 15th of June, 1493, according to Gregorovius [44], or, rather, on the 19th, as Pastor [45] states. Its particulars, as related in Burchard's Diary, are easily recognized to be an interpolation from the journal of Infessura [46]. They are no homage, but

40. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds Lat., Cod. 13824, f° 172.
41. Burchard, Diar., t. I, p. 41.
42. Id., ibid.
43. Cerri, Borgia, ossia Alessandro VI, t. I, pp. 134, 135.
44. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 332.
45. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 297 ; Raynaldi, annal eccles., ad an. 1493, no. XXXI.
46. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 80, seq.

accusations and insults, incompatible with the occasion. Diego Lopez de Haro, governor of Galicia, the speaker, would, in the King's name, have blamed the Pope for fostering war among the Christians of Italy, for admitting in his States the Marrani or falsely converted Jews, expelled from Spain ; he would have demanded the excess of one hundred ducats of each of the prebends in Spain, for a supposed war of deliverance of Jerusalem, and have threatened to seize them, if refused. He would have objected to " what is said everywhere " to be a practice in Rome, the auction sale of all benefices, offices and dignities. He would have admonished the Pope not to give to one man more than one benefice with care of souls attached, and " they say " that he said many other things regarding the welfare and honor of the Church, which I do not mention here, Infessura adds.

Such a story is not likely in itself, and the real Burchard, who was present at the solemnity, tells nothing of the kind in his own report [47]. We may admit, however, with Çurita [48], that the king of Spain manifested the interest which he was taking in the endangered safety of his relative of Naples, who had just sent to him the most disgraceful of all diplomatic communications against pope Alexander VI, as we shall see in its proper place [49].

Lopez de Haro was the only one to express any doubt of a beneficial new reign. All other speakers at the solemn obeisance of their princes looked for happy effects from the great qualities which they had admired in the former cardinal de Borgia. They expected pope Alexander VI to be the shield of Christendom, the author of peace between the Christian

47. Pastor, ref. to A. Pieper, Ein unedirtes Stück aus dem Tagebuch Burchards, ap. Römische Quartalschrift, 1494, s. 9, 27.

48. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, V. 26.

49. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, vol. II, P. II, pp. 42-48.

princes, the restorer and promoter of the authority of the Church, the patron of learning and science ; he was, in a word, to bring back the Saturnian golden age, as they repeatedly expressed it. The answers which he made to their discourses and the first acts of his administration singularly confirmed the general anticipations. To realize all these was an impossibility, and the circumstances of the times were such, that it required great courage and wisdom, with constant hard and reluctant labor, to give legitimate satisfaction, without neglecting the grave duties of a spiritual and temporal ruler.

In concluding this Article we may notice that cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, Cesar de Borgia and some French noblemen were, on the 2d of February, 1499, sent to Rome, to make the solemn obeisance of king Louis XII to pope Alexander VI and to recognize him as the legitimate Vicar of Christ.

From Burchard [50] we learn that Anna, the French queen, also sent an embassy, to do homage to the Pontiff, in her own name, on account of her duchy of Brittany. Her envoys entered Rome on the 22d of the same month of February, and were admitted only after showing that they were to perform their mission with the consent of her husband, the King.

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50. Diar., t. II, p. 510.

DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS

DOCUMENT 51ª.

Rodrigo de Borgia born at Xativa.

Fallesció en este año (1492.) Inocencio VIII, y fué asumpto D. Rodrigo de Borja, que era Vice-chanciller, natural de Játiva, en el reino de Valencia.

Ms. Anales Breves de Lorenzo Galindez Carbajal, ap. Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos per la Historia de España, Tom. XVIII. p. 281.

DOCUMENT 51bis.

The same as Document 51ª.

.....

Fu il papa Alexandro Valenciano
da una terra Zativa chiamata
la quale e trenta milia da lontano
de la cita Valenza nominata.

Archivio Storico Lombardo, Anno II. p. 18.

DOCUMENT 51c.

Hier. Porcius in honor of pope Alexander VI.

Ad Bovem Borgia.

Qui tibi Dive Pater sacra hec dedit arma, reliquit
Ille animum, mores, ingeniumque simul.
Aurea Saturni redimis sic secula, Pastor,
Et finitur, placido nunc tua Roma jugo.
Servat Alexandrum populus non munera Sextum
Propter te populus munera, Pastor, amat.
Perpetuus foelix memorat tua Roma triumphos.
Sedet Alexander, florida Secla manent.
Qui modo Romuleos tutatur et equora campos,
Regnat Alexander, Secula tuta manent.
Prosperius priscis jubilat tua Roma triumphis,
Et quotiens Sacrum obtinet Alma Bovem :
Vive diu Bos. Vive diu Bos. Borgia vive.

Vivit Alexander, Roma beata manet.

Liber Hartmanni Schedel Nurembergensis artium ac utriusq. medicine doctoris. Cod. Lat. Monacen. f° 162, ap. Gregorovium, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 22.

Epigramma Johannis Cantoris, legum doctoris atque Musici, in laudem et gloriam S. D. N. Alexandri pape Sexti.

Gaude Roma vetus magnis celebrata triumphis
Cui Deus eternum contulit imperium.
Claris Cesaribus quondam regnata fuisti,
Multo clarior es subdita presulibus,
Qui virtute licet nituerunt tempore prisco,
Haud vincunt etas quem modo nostra videt,
Sextus Alexander, Hispanus origine celsa,
Regnat, et officio fungitur ethereo ;
Qui prudens, justus, constans, pius atque modestus,
Pro meritis, tanto culmine dignus erat.
Eya, christicole, Domino persolvite grates,
Quilibet et vestrum mente pia resonet :
Vivat Alexander celebrandus imagine Magni,
Fastigio major, non probitate minor.

Burchard, Diar., T. II, p. 13.

DOCUMENT 52ª.

Rodrigo de Borgia born when ?

(Janvier 1498) Feria secunda, I mensis Januarii... Post missam dictam, dixit (Papa) cardinalibus, me audiente, sese complevisse heri sexagesimum septimum annum etatis sue ac natum esse prima die hebdomadis, prima die mensis et prima die anni, anno primo pontificatus felicis memorie Eugenii pape quarti ; dixerunt alii quod prima hora post mediam ultimam diem mensis decembris immediate sequentis, de quo tamen SS. D. noster nihil dixit.

Burchard, Diar. T. II, p. 425.

DOCUMENT 52[b].

The same as Document 52[a].

(Décembre 1503) Anno a nativitate Domini MDIII..... die dominica 25 dicti mensis decembris.....'

Heri D. Bernardinus, socius meus, retulit mihi Papam sibi et sociis suis capellanis coram eo celebrantibus heri dixisse habere LXXI annos etatis sue, quos esset completurus ultima die presentis mensis.

Burchard, Diar. T. III, p. 228.

DOCUMENT 53[a].

Safe-conduct for Lewis John del Milá and Roderic de Borgia, on their way to Bologna.

Calistus etc. Universis et singulis ad quos presentes nostre littere pervenerint Salt. etc. Cum. dilecti filii Ludovicus electus Segobricen. Gubernator Bononie, Rodericus prothonotarius, nepotes nostri, et oratores civitatis nostre Bononie pro nonnullis arduis negotiis ad civitatem ipsam nostram Bononien. et diversas alias mundi partes habeant personaliter se conferre, nus cupientes eosdem Electum, Prothonotarium et oratores cum comitivis sociis famulis equis salmis rebus et bonis suis omnibus, in eundo stando et redeundo plena ubique securitate atque immunitate gaudere, Universitatem vestram et vestrum singulos requirimus et hortamur in dno., subditis vero nostris et gentium armorum capitaneis ac conductoribus ubicumque ad nra. et Roman. ecclesie stipendia militantibus districte mandamus quatenus ipsos Electum, prothonotarium et oratores cum comitivis sociis familiaribus equestribus et pedestribus, equis salmis rebus et bonis predictis per vestra atque nostra territoria passus portus pontes et loca quelibet, tam per aquam quam per terram absque solucione alicujus dacii, pedagii passagii, theolonii fundinavis vel gabelle aut alterius cujuscumque oneris exactione, ire stare redireque pro nostra et apostolice sedis reverencia libere permittant et permittatis, nullamque sibi sociis et familiaribus in personis rebus et bonis eorum inferatis molestiam vel offensam aut aliquam nocivam novitatem, nec ab aliis

quantum in vobis fuerit permittatis inferri, quin ymo dictos Electum, prothonotarium et oratores benigne commendatos habentes, sibi ac sociis et familiaribus hujusmodi quociens pro parte ipsorum fueritis requisiti de securo transitu scorta salvoconductu et receptu sic liberaliter providere curetis quod vestra exinde devotio apud nos et sedem ipsam possit merito commendari. Et insuper prefatos Electum, prothonotarium et oratores ac eis familiares usque ad numerum centum ac eorum bona mobilia et immobilia presentia et futura ab omnibus impositionibus gabellis exactionibus angariis subsidiis facronibus (?) realibus et personalibus quavis auctoritate impositis et imponendis auctoritate apostolica tenore presencium eximimus et totaliter liberamus, districtius inhibentes rectoribus et quibuscumque aliis officialibus presentibus et futuris ibidem quacumque auctoritate deputatis seu deputandis communitatibus quoque et universitatibus civitatum terrarum et locorum hujusmodi ne ipsos Electum, prothonotarium et oratores ac bona predicta contra nostre exemptionis et liberationis tenorem ad exhibendum et contribuendum impositionibus et gabellis supradictis in personis aut rebus molestare quoquo modo presumant, Decernentes ex nunc etc. Non obstantibus statutis et consuetudinibus civitatum terrarum et locorum hujusmodi apostolica vel alia quacumque auctoritate roboratis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Dat. Rome apud sanctum petrum anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, XV[a] Kl. Julii, Pont. nri anno primo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Call. III. Secret. An. I. Lib. I. Regest. 454, f° 94.

DOCUMENT 53[b].

Pope Calixtus III secures kind treatment for Lewis John del Milà and Roderic de Borgia.

Dilecte fili etc... Quoniam venerabilis frater episcopus Segobricensis et dilectus filius magister Rodericus de Borgia notarius noster, nepotes nostri valde cari, et dilecti filii oratores nostri Bononienses cum familiaribus et comitivis et carriagiis salmis ac rebus suis ad civitatem nostram Bononiensem impresentiarum accedentes transitum facient per terras, passus et loca nobilitati tue subiecta enixe requirimus atque exhor-

tamur in domino, ut eos omnes familiares, comitivam, res ac bona nostri intuitu suscipias ac suscipi mandes graciose commendatos tractesque ac tractari facias omnibus in rebus humane et grate, sicut in tua confidimus nobilitate habituri hanc rem carissimam atque acceptissimam. Dat. Romae XVIII junii 1455.

(In Verso :) Sedecim reformatoribus status lib. Bonon.

Orig. Staatsarchiv zu Bologna Q. lib. 3 ; ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 687.

DOCUMENT 54a.

Roderic de Borgia is named prothonotary apostolic.

Calixtus etc. Dilecto filio magistro Roderico de Boria sacriste Valentinensi, Notario nostro Salutem etc. Pii patris altissimi, qui prout vult dispensat singulis plus quam vota et merita requirunt, munera gratiarum in nos licet immeriti gerentes in terris, interdum honoribus minores efferimus ut fiant in observantia mandatorum eorum humeri fortiores. Cum itaque tu qui nobilitate generis, literarum scientia et claritate virtutum decoraris ornatibus, nostris et Romane ecclesie obsequiis sincera cordis devotione disponas insistere nos personam tuam benivolo prosequentes affectu ac intendentes eam pro meritis dignioris nominis titulo decorare, te qui etiam nepos noster et de nobili ac militari genere procreatus existis in nostrum et apostolice sedis notarium cum prerogativis emolumentis honoribus et oneribus consuetis presentium tenore auctoritate apostolica recipimus et aliorum Notariorum et dicte sedis notariorum consortio favorabiliter aggregamus, tibi nihilominus concedentes ut omnibus et singulis indulgenciis immunitatibus libertatibus exemptionibus privilegiis et honoribus uti et gaudere libere et licite valeas quibus Notarii prefati usi sunt hactenus et gaudebunt quomodolibet in futurum. Volumus autem quod antequam officii honoris et dignitatis huiusmodi insignia consequaris, in manibus dilecti filii Ludovici tituli Sancti Laurentii in damaso presbiteri cardinalis camerarii nostri aut eius locumtenentis prestes fidelitatis debite in forma solita iuramentum. Sic igitur de bono in melius studiis virtutum intendas ut te apud nos et sedem ipsam constituas ad maiora digniorem, et ex hoc ad

uberiores gratias tibi faciendas merito incitemur. Nulli ergo etc. Nostre receptionis aggregationis concessionis et voluntatis infringere etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud Sanctum petrum Anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quinto Sexto idus Maii. Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Officiorum Calixt. III, Reg. 465, f° 58.

DOCUMENT 54b.

Roderico de Borgia takes the oath of Prothonotary apostolic.

Die XV. mensis Junii (MCCCCLV.) Rodericus de Boria nepos d. n. pp. juravit officium prothonotarii in manibus dni. Vicecamerarii in Camera apostolica presentibus dnis Suliman de Sulimanibus A. de forlivio clericis camere et Marcello Secretario et pluribus aliis et me G. de Vulterris.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Ca. 3. Liber Officialium, Reg. 467, f° 9.

DOCUMENT 55.

Passport for Magr. Roderic Boria.

Litera passus pro Magro. Roderico Boria sedis aplice. notario cum Triginta sociis vel familiaribus equestribus vel pedestribus, nec non equis, salmis rebus et bonis etc. absque solutione datii pedagii passagii tam per terram quam per aquam, ut in forma etc. Dat. Rome apud S^m^ Petrum anno M°cccclv° Sextodecimo Kl. julii Pont. nri. anno primo.

Gratis pro nepote d. n. ppe.

Cal. III. De Cur., anno I, T. II, Regest., 437, f° 173v°.

DOCUMENT 56.

The prothonotary Roderic Boria receives a canonry and the archpresbytery of Segorve.

Calistus etc. Dilecto filio magro Roderico Boria canonico et archipresbitero Segobricen. et Ste Marie de Albarazino invicem

canonice unitarum ecclesiarum Notario nostro Salut. etc. Grata devotionis obsequia que nobis et apostolice sedi hactenus impendisti et adhuc solicitis studiis impendere non desistis, necnon vite ac morum honestas aliaque laudabilia probitatis et virtutum merita quibus personam tuam fidedignorum testimoniis juvari percepimus nos inducunt ut tibi reddamur ad gratiam liberales... canonicatum et prebendam ac qui officium inibi existit archipresbiteratum predictos quorum fructus... centum Libr. Turonen. ut accepimus non excedunt... He grants... Dat. Rome apud S. Petrum anno etc. 1455, 5 Kl. febr. A° 1°.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Cal. III. De curia, an. I, Tom. V, Regest. 440. f° 11.

DOCUMENT 57.

Roderic de Borgia created cardinal.

Calistus etc. Dilecto filio Roderico de Boria Sancti Nicolai in carcere tulliano diacono cardinali Salt. etc. Longa diu meditatione pensantibus quo potissimum modo grave humeris nostris impositum pontificatus maximi onus tollerare possimus, nichil eque visum est utile, nichil accomodum magis quam ut data legifero Moysi a deo nostro mandata executuri viros nobis assumeremus prudencia fide et virtutibus ceteris conspicuos, quibus adiutoribus, nunc fideli gravique consilio nunc solerti industrique opera, oportune assistentibus, spemque prestantibus cuncta salubriter et prospere in dei ecclesia dirigantur. Itaque matura cum Venerabilibus fratribus nostris Sancte Romane ecclie. Cardinalibus prout rei gravitas exigebat deliberatione prehabita, hodie ad personam tuam quam gratiarum largitor altissimus donis illis decorare dignatus est, de quibus virtutum tuarum clara testimonia probataque experientia nos confirmant, nostre direximus apostolice considerationis intuitum, ac de eorumdem fratrum nostrorum consilio, ad altissimi nominis gloriam, statum Sancte Romane ecclesie, exaltationem fidei, et ut nobiscum hujusmodi onera ad utilitatem prefate ecclesie partiaris, illaque ut commodius perferre possis Motu proprio non ad tuam vel alterius pro te nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instanciam, sed de nostra mera liberalitate ut omnia et singula beneficia ecclesiastica cum cura et sine cura secularia et regu-

laria que nunc in titulum vel commendam ex quibusvis apostolicis dispensationibus obtines et expectas ac in quibus et ad que jus tibi quomodolibet competit seu competere potest quecunque quotcunque et qualiacunque sint retinere valeas, eorumque fructuum reddituum et proventuum veros valores annuos ipsarumque dispensationum tenores presentibus pro expressis habentes, ac gratias illas quarum vigore beneficia aliqua expectas in statum pristinum remanere volentes, susceptis per nos prius votis omnium venerabilium fratrum nostrorum sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalium infrascriptorum et in fidem horum omnium propriis manibus una nobiscum se subscribentium, ac in curia Rome ad presens residentium, voto dumtaxat Venerabilis fratris nri. Georgii Ep[i] hostien. cardinalis de flisco excepto, qui cum in eadem curia infirmus sit, per dilectos filios nostros Latinum tt. Sanctorum Johannis et Pauli de Ursinis et Petrum tit. Sancti Marci presbiteros cardinales ad eum per nos missos, ut moris est, illud prestitit, ipsiusque et aliorum omnium unanimi et concordi ad id accedente consilio, te notarium nostrum in ejusdem ecclesie Romane Diaconum Cardinalem Sancti Nicolai in carcere tuliano duximus assumendum, ac collegio et consortio eorumdem Venerabilium fratrum nostrorum, cum prerogativis honoribus et oneribus consuetis favorabiliter aggregandum. Sicque in dei nomine te ad cardinalatus dignitatem in nostro secreto consistorio ipsis Venerabilibus fratribus nostris presentibus assumimus per presentes pariter et aggregamus. Et licet alias consuetum fuerit post assumptionem hujusmodi nonnullis diebus elapsis ei qui ad cardinalatum assumitur specialis titulus cardinalaris attribui, tamen, tibi etiam hodie ipsum tt. Sancti nicolai in carcere tuliano de ipsorum fratrum consilio tribuimus et assignamus quacunque alia consuetudine in similibus hactenus observata non obstante. Volumus etiam ac statuimus et ordinamus quod si contingat nos ab hac vita decedere ante publicationem tue assumptionis hujusmodi statim pro publicato cardinali solemniter habearis quoad electionem Romani Pontificis et omnia alia quecunque que hujusmodi competunt dignitati. Sicque de plenitudine apostolice potestatis volumus statuimus ordinamus decernimus pariterque mandamus omnibus et singulis cardinalibus sub excommunicationis pena ipso facto et inhabilitationis omnis active videlicet et passive quoad electionem Roman. Pontificis, quod in casu mortis nostre ante

publicationem tuam quod ipsi cardinales teneantur et debeant immediate scilicet infra diem naturalem habita notitia obitus nostri publicare predicta teque pro cardinali publicato recipiant et admittant in omnibus et per omnia ac si publicatus per nos et ab ipsis per nos fuisses, sicut superius est expressum. Tu itaque dignitatem hanc grata mente suscipiens ea deinceps agere atque efficere studeas ut in agendis rebus honorem dei augmentum christiane fidei et ecclesie Romane ac Sedis apostolice statum et gloriam perquirere comproberis que tante dignitatis honor et gravitas postulant et requirunt. Nulli ergo etc. nostre deliberationis assumptionis aggregationis constitutionis decreti mandati et voluntatis infringere etc. Si quis autem etc. Dat. Rome apud sctum Petrum Anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, decimo Kl. Marcii Pont. nri. anno primo.

Eguo Calistus Cath^e ecclesiae episcopus s(ubscripsi).
Ego G. tit. s. Martini in montib. presb. card. Rhotomag. s.
Ego Joh. tit. s. Marie in Transt. presb. card. s.
Ego L. tit. s. Laurencii in Damaso presb. card. s.
Ego D. tit. s. Crucis manu propria.
Ego A. tit. s. Grisogoni presb. card. Ilerden. manu propria s.
Ego L. tit. s. Jo. et Pauli car^lis de Ursinis me s.
Ego F. tit. s. Laurencii in Lucina presb. card. Bon. me s.
Ego Petrus tit. s. Marci presb. card. s.
Ego Georgius episcopus Hostien card. de Flisco s.
Ego Isidorus episcopus Sabinen card. Rutenus s.
Ego Bissarion episcopus Tusculan card. Nicenus s.
Ego Prosper tit. Georgii in Velabro diac. cardinalis de Columna s.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Calis. III. Secret. L. VI A. I. II. Tom. XXIV, Regest. 459, f° 121—and Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I. Doc. 67 ; where several words need correction.

DOCUMENT 58.

The prothonotary Roderic de Borgia conditionally made administrator of the hospital of Vercelli.

Calistus etc. Dilecto filio abbati Monasterii sancti Nazarii Vercellen. dioc. Salt. — Ad audientiam siquidem nostram fama

publica referente pervenit quod dilectus filius Jacobus de advocatis de Casanova canonicus regularis ord. S. Aug. qui se gerit pro rectore hospitalis sancti Andree Vercellen., Suorum salutis, status et honoris penitus immemor ac Dei timore postposito sue fame prodigus pudicitieque laxatis habenis, inhoneste et turpiter vivere ac publicum concubinarium fore, bona quoque dicti hospitalis que in pauperum alimentationem committi deberent dilapidare et in perniciosos usus committere, necnon alias hospitale predictum male et indebite regere et gubernare non erubuit, in anime sue periculum ac pauperum in eodem hospitali degentium damnum jacturam et detrimentum, perniciosum quoque exemplum et scandalum plurimorum, nos igitur attendentes quod, veris existentibus premissis, prefatus Jacobus regimine et administratione bonorum dicti hospitalis merito reddidit se indignum ; ac volentis dilecto filio Magro. Roderico de Borgia notario nostro apud nos de gratis devotionis obsequiis que nobis et apostolice sedi hactenus impendit et adhuc solicitis studiis impendere non desistit, necnon vite ac morum honestate aliisque probitatis et virtutum meritis multipliciter condecorato, horum intuitu gratiam facere specialem, Motu proprio etc. — He orders the said abbot to examine the case " de plano, " and, if the accusations be true, to dismiss the present rector and place in possession Roderic or his procurator — Dat. Rome apud sanctam Mariam Majorem, anno etc. 1456, 12 Kal. Sept. a° 2°.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Calix. III, De curia, anno II. Tom. IX, Regest. 444, f° 230v°.

DOCUMENT 59.

Cardinal Roderic de Borgia appointed dean of Cartagena, etc.

Calistus etc. Dilecto filio Roderico Sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano Diacono Cardinali Salt. Etc..... Cum itaque postmodum (i. e. after the benefices had been reserved to the disposal of the Holy See.) Decanatus qui dignitas major post pontificalem existit ecclesie Cartaginen. ac nonnulla prestimonia prestimoniales portiones et simplicia beneficia in civitate et diocesi Cartaginen. que quondam... vacent ad presens... He confers them on the cardinal... 1456, 5 Id. Sept. a° 2°.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Cal. III. De Curia, an. II, t. X. Regest. 445, f° 163.

DOCUMENT 60.

Cardinal Roderic de Borgia appointed governor of the March of Ancona, etc.

Calixtus etc. Dilecto filio Roderico sancti Nicolai in carcere tulliano Diacono Cardinali de Borga Nepoti nostro in provincia Marchie Anconitane et Civitatibus Terris Castris et locis Masse Trabarie, et presidatu farfensi pro nobis et Romana ecclesia in temporalibus Vicario generali Salutem etc... quamvis ad cunctorum christifidelium, provincias civitates terras castra et loca... studium et diligentiam exhibeamus, ad provinciam tamen nostram Marchie Anconitane etc. eorumque Civitates etc. ac cives et incolas eorumdem tam spiritualiter quam temporaliter nobis et romane ecclesie subjectos tanquam peculiares filios et devotos diligenter cura intuemur, et super eorum felici regimine pacifico et tranquillo desideramus specialiter providere, presertim cum a gravi tiranidis iugo novissime liberati sint. Considerantes itaque quod tu ingenio, vita, consilio et bonarum artium institutione plurimum vales quodque ex probatis virtutibus tuis fructus deo placentes salutaresque populis tibi commissis produces... matura super hoc cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris sancte Romane ecclesie Cardinalibus in Consistorio deliberatione prehabita, te in provincia et Civitatibus terris Castris et locis prefatis pro nobis et Romana ecclesia in temporalibus vicarium generalem usque ad nostrum et sedis apostolice beneplacitum constituimus deputamus et etiam ordinamus, tibi provinciam etc .. gubernandi... reformandi corrigendi, occupata recuperandi... homagia et iuramenta fidelitatis recipiendi omnesque... quos iusticia suadente privandos videris... privandi... eaque dicte ecclesie confiscandi... ac culpabiles civiliter vel criminaliter... puniendi... ac inter discordes... pacem et concordiam refirmandi ac inter eos treugas indicendi... concordes in unitatis et caritatis vinculo confirmandi... societates et ligas contra dictam ecclesiam vel bonum pacis et statum illarum partium pacificum... initas vel iniendas cassandi... occupata iniuste ab occupatoribus et detentoribus quibusvis eripiendi et reci-

piendi eiectos et expulsos a locis rebus et iuribus suis quibuscumque et inique privatos ad loca bona et iura eorum propria reducendi... generales quoque et particulares exercitus in auxilium eiusdem ecclesie et protectione status pacifici provincie... indicendi faciendi et congregandi presidia exercitus et cavalcatas huiusmodi... et ad parlamenta generalia seu particularia... requirendi et convocandi... nec non omnia et singula dicto tuo Vicariatu durante gerendi faciendi et exercendi et terminandi que ad huiusmodi Vicariatus officium pertinere noscitur de consuetudine vel de iure..., non obstantibus... concedentes plenam et liberam harum serie facultatem. Circumspectioni etiam tue... plenam et omnimodam legato de latere potestatem concedimus per presentes... Ut igitur premissa omnia et singula plenius et utilius valeas exercere universis et singulis... officialibus castellanis et aliis quibuscumque nostris et prelibate ecclesie subditis... damus tenore presentium districtius in mandatis ut tibi et deputandis a te huiusmodi vicariatus officio durante efficaciter pareant et intendant. Tu igitur divina gratia et sedis apostolice consiliis onus huiusmodi tam meritorii negocii devota mente et animo leto suscipiens te in illius exequtione ita studiosum exhibeas quod de tuis fructuosis laboribus celesti tibi favente gratia sperati fructus adveniant, tuque per solicitudinis et prudentie tue ministerium illam que pias causas gerendo pro retributione impenditur palmam eterne glorie feliciter consequi videaris. Datum Rome apud Sanctum petrum Anno Incarnacionis dominice MCCCCLVI. pridie Kalendas ianuarii pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Calix. III. Officia, Regest. 465, f° 226.

DOCUMENT 61.

Cardinal Roderic de Borgia named Vicechancellor of the Roman Church.

Calixtus etc. Dilecto filio Roderico Sancti Nicolai in Carcere tulliano Diacono Cardinali sancte Romane ecclesie, Vicecancellario Salutem etc. Eximia tue circumspectionis industria morum claritas et elegantia probata bonitas et sapientia zelus domus dei et aliarum multarum virtutum excellentia quibus te altissimus illarum largitor dominus multipliciter insignivit nec

non de te in arduis Romane ecclesie cuius honorabile membrum existis negociis experientia comprobata spem nobis pollicentur indubiam ut ea que tibi commiserimus fideli et accuratissima diligentia tanquam eiusdem ecclesie Romane sublimis et precipua columpna exequeris. Cum itaque officium Vicecancellariatus prefate ecclesie quod dudum bone memorie Franciscus Episcopus portuensis eiusdem ecclesie vicecancellarius dum viveret obtinebat et exercebat per obitum eiusdem Francisci qui apud Sedem apostolicam diem clausit extremum diutius vacaverit et adhuc vacare noscatur ad presens. Nos qui dudum te in partem nobis divinitus commisse sollicitudinis evocavimus cupientes officium prefatum tali persone committere per cuius solertissimam et exactissimam diligentiam officium ipsum feliciter gubernetur ac sperantes quod datis a deo tibi virtutibus suffragantibus officium ipsum per tuam singularem previdentiam salubriter regetur ad honorem ecclesie Romane supradicte, necnon omnes et singulas gracias... He sets aside all that might possibly be objected to this appointment — officium prefatum Vicecancellariatus sic vacans etiam si alias quovis modo vacet cum omnibus et singulis facultatibus ad Romane Ecclesie Vicecancellarium pro tempore pertinentibus necnon honoribus oneribus privilegiis exemptionibus immunitatibus indultis libertatibus iuribus et pertinenciis obventionibus et aliis qualitercumque debitis ac percipi solitis emolumentis, Motu simili non ad tuam vel alterius pro te nobis super hoc oblate pectionis instanciam sed de nostra mera liberalitate apostolica tibi auctoritate conferimus et de illo etiam providemus teque in ecclesie predicte Vicecancellarium assumimus creamus constituimus et etiam deputamus ipsius officii plenum et liberum exercitium tibi, a quo fidelitatis debite prestari solitum iuramentum recepimus et recipimus, tenore presentium libere concedentes et decernentes ex nunc irritum et inane quidquid contra premissa quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter per quemvis attemptatum forsan est hactenus vel imposterum contigerit attemptari. Non obstantibus... Nulli ergo etc. Si quis autem etc. Datum Rome apud sanctum petrum Anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo septimo Kalendis Maij pontificatus anno Tertio.

Calixt. III. Officior., Regest., 466, f° 8.

DOCUMENT 62.

Institution of the College of the Solicitors of pontifical letters.

Sixtus IIII. etc.... Habita igitur super hiis cum Venerabilibus fratribus nostris et presertim Roderico Epº Portuen. Scte Roman. ecclie. Vicecancellario, qui ejusdem ecclesie Vicecancellariatus offitio multis annis eximia virtute solertissima et exactissima diligentia laudabiliter prefuerit deliberatione matura, et de illorum consilio ex certa nostra scientia in prefata curia et illius Cancellaria apostolica unum offitium quod Sollicitatorum licterarum apostolicarum offitium nuncupetur et perpetuis futuris temporibus vigeat in eadem auctoritate apostolica presentium tenore instituimus creamus et ordinamus. Et ne contingat in dubium revocari an de hujusmodi sollicitatorum offitiis hac prima vice et dum pro tempore vacabunt per prefatum Rodericum Epm et vicecancellarium ad quem ex concessione nostra offitiorum omnium dicte cancellarie, correptorie, scriptorie ac Notariorum Sedis apostolice offitiis solum exceptis, libera dispositio pertinere dinoscitur, solummodo vel per nos et dictam sedem utpote de offitiis, post sibi factam concessionem predictam de novo creatis, in Cancellaria predicta disponi possit et debeat, ad personam suam ob ejus preclara merita in nos et dictam sedem collata etiam in hac temporum difficultate debitum respectum habendo, ad dictum offitium sollicitatorum exercendum hac prima vice centum viros probos et ydoneos quorum nomina et cognomina infra scribuntur, unacum prefato Roderico Epº et vicecancellario eadem auctoritate recipimus et collegio predicto juxta ordinem infrascripte descriptionis eorum aggregamus ; ac volumus et ordinamus quod ipsis sic receptis et aliis qui pro tempore erunt sollicitatoribus cedentibus vel decedentibus aut alias loca et offitia sua quomodolibet dimictentibus, omnium et singulorum vigintiquinque sollicitatorum descriptorum infra post dilectum filium laurentium de Maijs de Vetralla, offitia et loca dum per cessum vel decessum aut promotionem privationem seu quamvis aliam dimissionem predictorum et aliorum quorumcunque qui offitia et loca ipsa pro tempore obtinebunt quandocunque vacabunt ad liberam ipsius Roderici Epi et pro tempore existentis vicecancellarii dispositionem

pertineant possitque et debeat ipse Rodericus et pro tempore existens vicecancellarius et per eum ad hoc specialiter deputati illorum resignationes recipere et admictere ac per suas licteras suo sigillo pendente munitas dum pro tempore qualitercumque vacaverint per seipsum sive ejus locum tenentem seu ad hoc specialiter mandatum habentem personis ydoneis providere, et exigentibus personarum meritis et sufficientia super earumdem personarum quibus ipse providerit de hujusmodi offitiis et locis requisitarum qualitatum defectu cum sibi seu deputando hujusmodi placuerit dispensare, et easdem personas ad ipsa offitia et loca obtinenda sufficienter habilitare ut illis quibus de eisdem offitiis et locis ipse Rodericus et pro tempore existens Vicecancellarius seu deputandus ab eo duxerit suis licteris providendum ad offitia et loca ipsa absque aliqua alia provisione recipiantur et admictantur... Loca vero et offitia dicti Laurentii et ante eum descriptorum septuaginta quatuor sollicitatorum dictarum licterarum dum vacabunt pro tempore ad nostram et successorum nostrorum Roman. Pontificum liberam dispositionem pertineant... The government of the Solicitors and the punishment of their transgressions, especially of the falsification of papal letters, is here committed to the vicechancellor... Qui vero loco cedentium vel decedentium sollicitatorum aut sua offitia dimictentium ad offitia ipsa pro tempore surrogabuntur, etate moribus et vita ydonei existant, et pro signatura supplicationis seu admissionis quinquaginta florenos auri de camera datario nostro et successorum nostrorum Roman. Pontificum pro tempore existentium si per nos vel ipsos successores nostros surrogatio fiat, alioquin dicto Roderico et pro tempore existenti vicecancellario, et preter hoc etiam alia jocalia que Abbreviatores earumden licterarum de prima visione pro eorum receptione in offitio abbreviatorum solent persolvere. :... They were bound to take the oath of office before the vicechancellor. Follows the specification of their honors, rights and emoluments... Datum Rome apud Sanctum petrum Anno etc. Mcccclxxxij. Id. Junii Pont. nri. anno undecimo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Bull. L. LXX, T. LXXV, Regest. 620, f° 145.

DOCUMENT 63.

The Vicechancellor Roderic de Borgia donates to the papal treasury a portion of the money due him.

Guillelmus (Ep^s^ Ostiensis S. R. E. card. Rothomagensis, dni pape Camerarius) etc. Harum serie mandamus quatenus de pecuniis Camere aplice. videlicet ex summa flor. 35000 a centum sollicitatoribus expeditionis literarum aplicarum, noviter assumptis et creatis eorumque collegio eidem Camere ratione officii et collegii hujusmodi noviter erecti soluta et per manus spectabilis viri Nicolai Calcanei dictarum pecuniarum depositarii solvi faciatis R^mo^ in Xro. pri. et d. dno. R. miseratione divina ep° Portuen. s. ro. e. vicecancell° flor. septemmilia septingentos septuaginta quinque auri de cam. in auro in quibus R^ma^ d. sua ut in necessitatibus ejusdem s. d. n. pp. et ejus Camere aplice. et presertim hoc tempore multis ingruentibus expensis contenta remansit, licet ratione quarte partis offitii sollicitatorum predictorum officio Vicecancellariatus et sue R^me^ dominationi pertinentis summa octomilium septingentorum quinquaginta flor. similium deberetur. Quos etc. Dat. etc. die Xiij Junii Anno undecimo (1482).

Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati 1482-1484, f° 48.

DOCUMENT 64.

Card. Roderic de Borgia's share in the sale of Abbreviators' offices.

The papal Camerarius, Card. Rothomagensis, gives orders : " Scribi et poni faciatis per Supradictos depositarios ad ordinarium exitum dicte Camere R^mo^ dno. dno. R. miseratione divina Ep° Portuen. s. R. e. Vicecancellario summam ducatorum octomilium auri in auro de camera quos S^mus^ dns. nr. ppa eidem concessit ex pecuniis dictorum abbreviatorum, quia dispositio eorumdem in Collegio noviter erecto ex certis justis rationabilibus causis ex concessione ap^ca^ eidem R^mo^ d. vicecan^rio^ pertinebat prout in bullis desuper expeditis latius continetur —

quos in vestris computis etc. Dat. die Vij Januar. Pontificatus ejusdem anno nono. (1480.)

Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Liber quartus Bulletarum S^mi dni. Sixti ppe. IIII, 1479 ad 1481, f° 74.

DOCUMENT 65.

Cardinal Roderic named chief and general commissary of the whole pontifical army.

Calixtus etc. Dilecto filio Roderico sancti Nicolai in carcere tuliano diacono Cardinali sancte Romane ecclesie Vicecancellario ac supra omnium et singularum nostrarum et eiusdem ecclesie gentium armigerarum exercitum illiusque Capitaneos et Conductores in Italia duci et generali comissario Salutem etc. Dum exquisitam tue Circumspectionis industriam diligenter attendimus et condigna meditacione pensamus quod tu Romanam ecclesiam cuius honorabile membrum et precipua colunna existis tuorum honoras peramplius magnitudine meritorum, firma nobis exinde Spes concipitur quod ea que tibi comitenda duxerimus pro tuarum virtutum excellentia ad eiusdem Romane ecclesie nostrumque honorem et statum pacificum et tranquillum digne et laudabiliter exequeris. Volentes igitur prout nostro incumbit officio, nostro et dicte ecclesie statui atque indemnitati cum salute consulere et providere, ac nostrarum et eiusdem ecclesie gentium armigerarum exercitui illiusque capitaneis et Conductoribus Comissarium et ducem preficere, sub cuius gubernaculo ecclesia ipsa in statu pacifico et tranquillo quiescere valeat, ac Sperantes indubie quod grandium virtutum dona quibus te illustravit altissimus id poterunt infallenter efficere, te earumdem gentium armigerarum tam equestrium, quam pedestrium exercitus illiusque Capitaneorum et conductorum intra terras nostras et sancte Romane ecclesie in Italia existencium ducem et supra illos Comissarium generalem auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium usque ad nosturm et sedis apostolice beneplacitum facimus constituimus et eciam deputamus, tibique omnia et singula faciendi precipiendi mandandi disponendi ordinandi et exequendi que circumspectioni tue pro Statu et honore predictis utilia visa fuerint, necnon

ut eo magis in huiusmodi officio proficere possis quo fueris auctoritatis maiori potestate suffultus tractandi pacificandi et componendi ac quecumque pacta et conventiones faciendi cum quibuscumque Civitatibus Universitatibus ac singularibus personis quorumlibet civitatum terrarum castrorum villarum et aliorum locorum sub nostra et ecclesie prefate iurisdicione consistencium que hactenus forsan ab obediencia et subiecione nostra eiusdemque ecclesie se substraxissent aut in futurum, quod absit, substrahent et nobis vel dicte ecclesie rebelles seu inobedientes fuissent vel erunt, necnon easdem Comunitates Universitates et singulares personas ac alios quoscumque dominos Capitaneos Civitates Castra et gentes ad nostram et dicte ecclesie gratiam devocionem et obedienciam viis et mediis quibus tibi videbitur opportunis reducendi ipsisque quecumque crimina et excessus contra nos vel dictam ecclesiam perpetrata aut forsan in posterum perpetranda remittendi ac omnia alia et singula per que predicti omnes et singuli ad nostram et prefate ecclesie veram obedienciam reduci valeant faciendi gerendi et exequendi, demum quoque Castellanos quoscumque si id necnon ad nostram et predicte ecclesie stabilimentum et securitatem videris expedire, prehabita matura deliberatione ex arcibus quas pro tempore tenebunt aut detinent de presenti, penitus amovendi ac alios eorum loco viros fideles probos et ad custodiam aptos in eisdem arcibus nostro et eiusdem ecclesie nomine inmittendi, ibidemque quandiu tibi visum fuerit expedire, manutenendi et conservandi omniaque alia et singula in predictis et circa ea necessaria quomodolibet et oportuna gerendi faciendi et exequendi, etiam si talia essent que mandatum exhigerent speciale et in generali comissione non caderent, que eidem circumspecioni tue oportuna quomodolibet videbuntur facultatem potestatem iurisdicionem et auctoritatem plenariam tenore presentium concedimus et largimur. Mandantes expresse omnibus et singulis quorum interest seu quomodolibet in futurum poterit interesse, et presertim quibuscumque Capitaneis Conductoribus et ceteris militibus tam equestribus quam pedestribus, ubicumque ad nostra et dicte ecclesie stipendia militantibus quatinus te in eorum ducem et supra eos generalem Comissarium habeant reputent et nominent tibique pro nostra et apostolice sedis reverentia efficaciter in omnibus pareant obediant et intendant. Nos enim penas quas statueris in rebelles ac

cetera que vigore officii tibi comissi huiusmodi facta fuerint rata habebimus et faciemus auctore domino usque ad satisfacionem condignam firmiter observari. Tu igitur officium tibi comissum huiusmodi sic studeas magno animo et prudenter exercere quod preter ingencium virtutum nomen quod deo auctore iam acquisivisti ab ipso deo et hominibus condigne glorie memoria extollaris nostramque exinde benedictionem et gratiam uberius consequi merearis. Datum Rome apud Sanctum petrum Anno etc. MCCCCLVII° Tertio idus Decembris Pontificatus nostri Anno Tertio.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Calixt. III. Secret., Regest. 461, f° 95.

DOCUMENT 66.

Cardinal Roderic de Borgia named bishop of Valencia.

Calistus etc. Dilecto filio Roderico tit. S. Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diacono cardinali Electo Valentin. Salut. etc... Dudum siquidem dilectum filium Johannem de Aragonia Carissimi in Christo filii nostri Johannis Aragonum regis illustris natum per quasdam a nobis importuna quorumdam instancia extortas literas ecclesie Valentin. cui dum ad summum apostolatus apicem assumpti fuimus preeramus primo et deinde Gerunden. Ecclesia per obitum bone memorie Bernardi olim Epi Gerunden. extra Roman. curiam defuncti pastoris regiminis destituta. Nos te etiam tunc in minore etate constitutum de fratrum nostrorum consilio Gerunden. ecclesiarum predictarum perpetuos in spiritualibus et temporalibus administratores donec vigesimum septimum vestre etatis annum attingeritis sub certis modis et formis administratores fecimus constituimus et deputavimus Johannem de Aragonia Valentin. et te Gerunden. ecclesiis extunc postquam vigesimum septimum annum attigeritis hujusmodi preficiendo Epos et pastores, curam tamen regimen et administrationem ejusdem ecclesie Valentin. nobis in spiritualibus et temporalibus interea retinendo et reservando ac alia tunc expressa faciendo prout in singulis nostris desuper confectis literis plenius continetur. Cum itaque hodie nos de dictorum fratrum consilio prefatum Johannem de Aragonia perpetuum adminis-

tratorem ecclesie Cesaraugustan. tunc vacantis in spiritualibus et temporalibus etiam quousque vigesimum septimum dicte etatis annum expleverit eadem auctoritate apostolica fecerimus constituerimus et etiam deputaverimus, Volentes quod ex nunc prout ex tunc alias ut prefertur illi censeatur de eo provisum esse, ac ex tunc illius verus archiepiscopus sit et antistes, ac si hodie ipso in etate legitima constituto de ejus persona ecclesie Cesaraugustan. providissemus, Johannem ipsum a quocunque vinculo quo Montisregalis cujus etiam similiter olim administrator deputatus fuerat et predicte Valentin. ecclesiis seu earum alteri forsan astrictus erat de simili eorumdem fratrum consilio et apostolice potestatis plenitudine absolvendo. Et propterea dicta ecclesia Valentin. adhuc per nostram ad summum apostolatus apicem assumptionem seu translationem vel vinculi ab ea absolutionem de Johanne hujusmodi ut premittitur factas vacare noscatur ad presens, nullusque preter nos hac vice de illius provisione pro eo quod nos dudum provisiones omnium cathedralium ecclesiarum tunc vacantium et inantea vacaturarum per promotiones seu translationes de earumdem prelatis ubilibet constitutis per nos seu auctoritate nostra vel apostolica imposterum faciendas ad alias dignitates et ecclesias tunc vacantes et vacaturas ordinationi et dispositioni nostre duximus reservandas, decernentes ex nunc irritum et inane si secus super hiis a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attemptari, hac vice se intromittere potuerit sive possit reservatione et decreto obsistenibus supradictis. Nos ad provisionem ejusdem ecclesie Valentin. ne longe vacationis exponatur incommodis paternis et solicitis studiis intendentes post deliberationem quam de preficiendo eidem ecclesie personam utilem et etiam fructuosam cum eisdem fratribus nostris habuimus diligentem ; Demum ad te Sancti Nicolai in Carcere, tulliano diaconum cardinalem et Sancte Roman. ecclesie. vicecancellarium ob grandium virtutum dona quibus personam tuam multipliciter illustravit altissimus direximus oculos nostre mentis, quibus omnibus debita meditatione pensatis, de persona tua nobis et eisdem fratribus admodum accepta prefate ecclesie Valentin. quam per translationem ad ecclesiam Cesaraugustan. ut prefertur vel alias quovis modo ex nunc vacare volumus decernimus et declaramus de dictorum fratrum consilio auctoritate apostolica providemus teque illi in verum Ep^um^ preficimus et

pastorem, curam regimen et administrationem ipsius Valentin. que alias nobis retinueramus a nobis abdicando et tibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo firmaque spe et fiducia conceptis quod dirigente domino actus tuos ecclesia ipsa per tue circumspectionis industriam et studium fructuosum regetur utiliter et prospere dirigetur grataque in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus suscipiet incrementa. Nos enim tecum ut eidem ecclesie Valentin. ex nunc etiam cum ecclesie Sancti Nicolai in carcere tulliano que titulus tui cardinalatus existit preesse ac illius verus et indubitatus Epus existere et censeri curamque regimen et administrationem predicta gerere et exercere ipsamque Valentinam ecclesiam in titulum una cum ecclesia Sancti Nicolai hujusmodi quoad vixeris retinere et munus consecrationis recipere et illud alias tamen rite tibi impendi facere et eo uti libere et licite valeas, defectu ordinis seu etatis quos ad hoc forsan pateris in quocumque tue etatis anno seu ordine quem presentibus haberi volumus pro expresso constitutus existas, ac Lateranen. concilii ac quibusvis aliis constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, ac Sancti Nicolai et Valentin. ecclesiarum predictarum statutis et consuetudinibus ceterisque contrariis nequaquam obstantibus, auctoritate predicta tenore presentium de specialis dono gratie dispensamus. Quocirca circumspectioni tue per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus curam et administrationem predictas sic salubriter geras et solicite prosequaris quod prefata ecclesia Valentin. gubernatori circumspecto gaudeat se commissam, tuque preter eterne retributionis premium, nostram et dicte sedis benedictionem ac gratiam valeas exinde uberius promereri. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo octavo Pridie Kl. Julii Pont. nri. anno quarto.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Calix. III, de Curia, Ann. III, IV, Tom. XVIII, Regest. 453, f° 25.

DOCUMENT 67.

Roderic, bishop of Valencia, must give up five benefices.

Calistus etc... Volumus et harum serie nostre intentionis fuisse et esse declaramus quod idem Rodericus quamprimum

provisionis et prefectionis ac literarum nostrarum hujusmodi vigore possessionem regiminis et administrationis ipsius ecclesie pacifice assecutus, sacristiam ejusdem ac decanatum beate Marie de Xativa necnon canonicatum et prebendam Segobricen. ecclesiarum, et de Cullera ac de Quarto Valentin. dioc. parochiales ecclesias quos inter cetera obtinet et quos ex tunc vacare decernimus nostreque et sedis apostolice dispositioni reservamus, omnino dimittere teneatur, quodque cetera alia, ecclesias monasteria dignitates prioratus... retinere possit... Prid. Kl. Julii 1458.

An adjunct to the bull of Roderic's nomination to the diocese of Valencia : Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Calix. III, De Curia, An. III, IV, Tom. XVII, Regest. 452, f° 26v°.

DOCUMENT 68.

John de Aragonia, Archbishop of Saragossa, obtains a pension from the diocese of Valencia.

Pius etc. Dilecto filio Johanni de Aragonia administratori ecc^e^ Cesaraugustan. in spiritualibus et temporalibus per sedem apostolicam deputato Salt. etc. Ut benivolencie specialis affectum quo personam tuam preclaris in Chro. filii nostri carissimi genitoris tui Johannis Regis Aragonum Illustris ac tuis exigentibus meritis paterna caritate prosequimur, dilecti quoque filii nostri Roderici Sancti Nicolai in Carcere Tulliano diaconi car^lis^ Sce. Ro. Ecclie. Vicecancellarii pro te super hoc intercessionem et instantiam apud nos efficaces reperias ac etiam fructuosas, illa tibi ex gracia et liberalitate concedimus que tui status decentie conveniant tuisque per ea commoditatibus consulatur. Horum igitur consideracione inducti volentes tibi graciam facere specialem, pensionem annuam quinque milium florenorum illius monete super fructibus redditibus et proventibus Mense episcopalis Ecclesie Valentin. cui prefatus Car^lis^ ex concessione et dispensatione sedis aplice. preesse dinoscitur, tibi quoad vixeris vel procuratori tuo ad hoc a te speciale mandatum habenti per eumdem cardinalem, cujus ad hoc expressus accedit assensus, et qui ut dicta pensio per nos tibi liberaliter concederetur nobis cum instancia supplicavit ac successores suos Episcopos Valen-

tin. pro tempore existentes annis singulis pro una in dni. nri. Jhu. Chr. et alia medietatibus pensionis hujusmodi in bti. Johannis Bapt[e] nativitatum festivitatibus persolvendam auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium concedimus constituimus et etiam assignamus... Datum Senis anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo. Kl. Aprilis pontif[us] nri. anno secundo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii. II. Secret. L. XVII. t. 47. Regest. 514, f° 34[vo].

DOCUMENT 69.

The Vicechancellor, Cardinal Roderic de Borgia, reprimanded by Pope Pius (?)

Pius pp. II. Vicecancellario.

Dilecte fili Salut. etc. Nudius quartus cum in ortis dilecti filii Johannis de Bichis convenissent femine complures Senenses ad secularem vanitatem composite Audivimus Cir (cumspectionem) tuam parum dignitatis quam sustinet memorem inter illas ab hora fere XVII[a] usque ad XXII[am] fuisse et ex Collegio tuo socium te habuisse eum quem si non honor ap[ce] Sedis etas tamen admonere satis officii sui debebat. Saltatum ibi est ut accepimus, cum omni licentia, nullis illecibris amatoriis parsum. Tuque etiam inter hec omnia non secus versatus quam si unus esses ex secularium juvenum turba. Referre sigilatim omnia pudet que eo in loco facta asseruntur. Ista non modo re sed appellatione quoque indigna sunt gradu quem tenes. Mariti patres fratres et consanguinei puellarum que aderant ut liberior vobis esset voluptandi facultas ab ingressu prohibebantur, vos soli cum paucis domesticis auctores hortatoresque chorearum eratis : Dicitur nulla nunc de re alia esse in Civitate Senensi sermonem preterquam vanitatem tuam ab omnibus irrideri. Hic certe in balneis ubi ecclesiasticorum et secularium non parvus est numerus vulgi es fabula. Si diceremus ista nobis non displicere erraremus vehementer : displicent certe super quam dici possit. Vituperatur enim ecclesiasticus ordo vituperatur ministerium nostrum, neque ad vite honestatem sed ad occasionem lascivie ditari et magni fieri videmur. Hinc principum et potentatuum in nos surgit contemptus, hinc quottidiane laicorum irrisiones hinc etiam reprehen-

siones vite nostre cum reprehendere alios volumus, Vicarius quoque Christi qui indulgere talia creditur in eundem cadit contemptum. Valentine ecclesie prees dilecte fili que inter Hispanorum ecclesias precipua est apostolice etiam cancellarie regimen tenes quodque factum tuum reprehensibilius facit, ad consilium Romane sedis inter Cardinales cum Pontifice sedes. Si puellis blandiri fructus missitare hinc inde, vinum pregustatum illi quam diligas mictere, effuso studio omne genus voluptatis totam diem spectare denique ut fieri omnia licentius possint maritos, necessarios illarum excludere, gradibus tuis convenire videntur, tibi ipsi judicandum relinquimus. Reprehendimur nos propter te, reprehenditur Calisti felix recordatio avunculi tui qui cumulandis in te honoribus judicio plurimum errasse videtur. Quod si excusationem allegas etatis, non est ea tibi jam etas ut non intelligas quantum onus dignitas tua sustineat, esse irreprehensibilem cardinalem oportet vite et morum salutare exemplum, cujus persona omnium non solum animis sed oculis debet inservire. Indignamur postmodum atque irascimur si a principibus seculi parum honorificis titulis appellamur, si in possessionibus beneficiorum turbamur, si subjicere colla nostra illorum mandato compellimur. Nos ipsi hec vulnera nobis inferimus, et malorum nostrorum materiam damus id agentes ut ecclesie quoque auctoritas in dies evilescat. Cujus rei in hoc seculo vituperium ferimus, et in alio supplicium dignum luemus. Cir (cumspectio) igitur tua hiis vanitatibus modum imponat, dignitatem suam recogitet, nec velit inter juvenes et mulierculas amatoris nomen tenere. Si enim hec rursus acciderent cogemur ostendere nobis invitis et dolentibus ea accidisse neque sine rubore tuo esse nostra animadversio posset. Te semper dileximus et tanquam eum in quo gravitatis et modestie specimen vidimus dignum nostra protectione putavimus. Velis ut opinionem hanc et mentem retinere diu possimus, quod nil prestare melius poterit quam vite gravioris assumptio. Anni tui qui correctionem ad huc pollicentur faciunt ut paterne te moneamus ; Alterius etas si hoc pateretur simili caritatis officio non fungeremur. Datum petrioli XI Junii 1460.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii II. Brevia, An. I. II. III. Lib. 9, Armar. 39, f° 161v°.

DOCUMENT 70.

Pope Pius II admits the apology of Cardinal Roderic de Borgia (?)

Pius pp. II Vicecancellario.

Dilecte fili etc. Accepimus literas tue Cir(cumspectio) nis et intelleximus excusationem quam affers. Factum tuum Dilecte fili non potest non culpabile esse, licet minus fortasse sit quam fuerit nobis relatum. Hortamur ut a talibus deinceps abstineas honorique tuo prudencius consulas. Ignoscimus tibi veniam a nobis petenti, nec si te non dilexissemus ut filium nostrum peculiarem non ita amanter monuissemus : Scriptum est enim : Ego quos amo arguo et castigo. Quamdiu bene feceris et modeste vixeris non deerit pater protectorque bonus tibi ac tuis, vitamque avunculi tui predecessoris nostri, Pio vio, non multum desiderare habebis. Datum etc. XIIII Junii.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii II. Brevia, An. I, II, III. Lib. 9. Armar. 39, f° 163v°.

DOCUMENT 71.

Autograph letter of Jacob Ammanati Piccolomini, cardinal of Pavia, to Cardinal de Borgia.

Vicecancellarie mi R^me^, Breve erit quod scribam, sed necessarium inter te ac me pondus habebit *1*. Tribuat pietate sua dominus ut preteritorum omnium vere obliti, novum hominem induamus, et prestemus ambo quod scribimus. Sic *2* bonorum non modo cardinalium, sed christianorum quoque opus id *3* si ita egerimus erit *4*. Animum vere si inducemus, promitto, nec charitatis parvi hominis te penitebit, nec ego non gloriari tanti patris benivolentia potero *5*. Cogitanda quidem *6* sepius ab utroque et horis omnibus providenda, sed illa imprimis : non venient quotidie in hominum sermonem res tue ac mee, nos non ridebunt, quibus nostra mala sunt voluptati. Non letabuntur, quibus ambo vel invidie sumus, vel odio. Spes suas tam effuse non pascent, quibus aliene contentionis opinio crescendi nunc animum facit. Quiescent interim mentes nostrae, non *7* ad impu-

gnandum, non *8* ad repugnandum intentae. Interim quoque officiis quotidianis nostra domestica juvabuntur. Et qui nobis domi famulantur, vel foris nos colunt in letitia erunt, videntes patres duos momenti non levis, quibus eorum labor inservit, olim Calisti, post Pii vinculis gratissimis *9* vinctos *10* in antiqua charitate, ad suum aliorumque beneficium degere. Postremo Pater Amplissime (quod natura magnis quam ratio monstrat) in longa et continuata, et mutuis obsequiis probata benivolentia nil erit, vel tam difficile vel tam alteri *11* placens quod non alter ab altero sperare et expectare et impetrare facile possit *12*. Iterum dico : Tribuat pietate sua dominus ut preteritorum omnium vere obliti, novum hominem induamus et prestemus ambo quod scribimus. Prestare ego idipsum fideli corde instituo idque his literis spondeo. Facturum te idem, pro tua sapientia et bonitate confido. Quod antiqua merita nostra et quasi quedam natura in ambobus conciliat, non sinamus oro, communi amborum damno et nota dissolvi *13*. Hanc epistolam, veris affectibus scriptam, queso secretariis tuis servandam ne des *14* sed in cubiculo condas, eo quidem in loco, unde, semel in hunc annum eam resumere, et si vacat *15* relegere possis. Multa aliquando melius, nostrae *16* quam alienae custodiae permittuntur, et nostra, quam secretariorum manus, plus fidei semper et benevolentiae affert *17*. Feliciter vale. *18*

1. Added in margin : Lege precor et tace. Ad extimationem utriusque sic expedit. ,
2. Above the word : " d " i. e. deleatur.
3. Above the line added : erit.
4. Corrected above the line into : Ita vero si observabimus.
5. Added in the margin : Sequentur utilia multa.
6. Above the word : " d, " i. e. deleatur.
7. Corrected with : nec.
8. Corrected with : nec.
9. Above the word : " d, " i. e. deleatur.
10. Corrected with : junctos, above the word.
11. Corrected under the line with : nobis.
12. Added in margin : Fructus hi meo judicio mirifici sunt, querendi si sapimus ac conservandi.
13. Added in margin : Jungamus in domino viscera, et ad mutuum solamen animos copulemus ; and a second very

significant addition : Tibi ceteris habundanti ad fratrum gratia conservanda quam habes, et *(a)* conservanda *(b)* quae habes fratrum gratia est necessaria, mihi multorum egenti ad paranda quae desunt paterno animo *(c)* tuo imprimo est opus.

(a) From the word " fratrum, " corrected above the line with the one word : conservanda.

(b) Reduced by cancellation to : servanda.

(c) The two last words replaced above the line by : patrocinio.

14. Above the line : " d, " indicating that the words from " queso " to " in cubiculo " should be left out.

15. Added above the line : ac placet.

16. Added in the margin : in rebus hujusmodi.

17. Marginal addition : In amicorum literis non tam ornatum quam officium *(d)* quero.

(d) Corrected above the word with : animum.

18. Added : R^me^ pr. et dne. Senis XV. Novembris, 1476.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. XXXIX, No. 10 : Pii, Pauli II. Literae Variae Card. Papien. et aliorum autographa, old mark : " 129 ; " f° 92, collated with Ibid. f° 153.

DOCUMENT 72.

Pope Alexander VI assigns several towns to the monks of Subiaco, and places their possessions under the protection of Cesar de Borgia.

Alexander Ep^us^ Servus Servorum dei Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. In supreme dignitatis specula meritis licet imparibus divina dispositione locati, ad ea libenter intendimus per que Monasteriorum et Religiosorum locorum omnium presertim Nobis et Romane Ecclesie immediate subjectorum et in quibus observantia viget regularis ac illis presidentium et aliis in eis sub suavi religionis jugo degentium personarum statui et indemnitatibus oportune consuli ac eorumdem bona et jura a quibuslibet molestiis et gravaminibus favore etiam secularium personarum nobis et apostolice sedi devotarum illesa servari possint, prout rerum et temporum qualitate pensata, id in

domino conspicimus salubriter expedire. Sane provide considerantes in monasteriis Sublacen. et sacrispecus, ordinis Sancti Benedicti, nullius dioc. invicem canonice unitis et eidem Romane Ecclesie immediate subjectis, que nos dum in minoribus constituti Cardinalatus fungebamur honore, ex concessione et dispensatione apostolica in commendam obtinebamus, et per longa tempora, donec divina favente clementia ad apicem summi apostolatus assumpti fuimus, obtinuimus, observantiam regularem semper viguisse et indies peramplius vigere meritaque monachorum in illis degentium talia fore, ut nos qui ad ipsum sanctum Benedictum cujus ordinis dicta monasteria fore noscuntur singularem semper gessimus et gerimus devotionis affectum, prefatosque Monachos ab eorum bonos et exemplares mores peculiari dilectione prosequimur, ac in visceribus gerimus caritatis, Monasteriis et Monachis predictis taliter providere debeamus quod eorum bona et jura preservare et manutenere ac ab aliis indebite occupata recuperare, et demum cum pace et quiete Altissimo vota sua exsolvere possint. Et propterea volentes desuper oportune providere prout etiam tunc in eisdem minoribus constituti dum dicta in eandem commendam obtinebamus semper pro viribus efficere curavimus, cum in Arce opidi Sublacensis per nos instaurata et fere a fundamentis de novo constructa et edificata ultra summam Novem millium ducatorum exposuerimus, et in bonorum ab aliis occupatorum recuperatione etiam magnas impensas subire non recusaverimus, habita super hiis cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris ejusdem Romane Ecclesie cardinalibus deliberatione matura, de iliorum unanimi consilio pariter et assensu, opida sive castra Felectini, Vallispetre, Anticuli de Corrado, Rubiani, Vallisfrigide ac Rivifridi Anagnin. et Tiburtin. diocesium quibus iniquitatis filii fabricius de Columna ac illi de domo Gaietan. nuper ob suorum exigentiam demeritorum per nos de simili consilio privati fuerunt, cum illorum territoriis tenimentis districtibus juribus jurisdictionibus adjacentiis et pernitentiis universis Mense abbatiali eorumdem Monasteriorum quibus satis vicina existunt ac beato Benedicto pro eorumdem Monasteriorum majori commoditate et quiete ac Abbatis seu Commendatarii pro tempore existentis subventione, nec non incolarum et habitatorum castrorum sive opidorum predictorum bono et felici regimine, auctoritate apostolica et ex certa nostra scientia

de apostolice potestatis plenitudine tenore presentium liberaliter et generose imperpetuum offerimus donamus concedimus assignamus unimus annectimus applicamus incorporamus et appropriamus, ita quod liceat dilecto filio Abbati seu Commendatario dictorum Monasteriorum pro tempore existenti per se vel alium seu alios corporalem opidorum sive castrorum... possessionem propria auctoritate libere apprehendere ac perpetuo retinere, illorumque fructus redditus et proventus in suos usus utilitatemque convertere, cujusvis licentia alias super hoc minime requisita — He imposes on the people of those places obedience etc. to the abbot — eos a quocumque juramento fidelitatis quo fabritio et aliis de domo Gaietan. hujusmodi ac nobis et sedi predicte astricti essent absolventes illudque eis relaxantes. Et ut dicta monasteria melius indies possint conservari, quo etiam aliquos patronos et defensores potentes se habere cognoscent, considerantes etiam attente quot et quanta pro dictis monasteriis ut prefertur effecimus quantamque pecuniarum Summam in illorum commodum et utilitatem exposuimus, ac donum quod illis impresentiarum damus et offerimus, jus patronatus et presentandi Sedi predicte personas ecclesiasticas seculares vel religiosas, ad dicta Monasteria dum illa deinceps perpetuis futuris temporibus, etiam apud Sedem predictam vacare aut illorum commendas cessare contigerit Dilecto filio Nobili Viro Cesari Borgie de francia Duci Romandiole nostro et ejusdem Roman. ecclesie Confalonerio ac Capitaneo generali quandiu vitam duxerit in humanis et deinde filiis suis et descendentibus ex eis, ac eis deficientibus, fratribus suis filiisque et etiam descendentibus eorum ac suis et eorum heredibus et successoribus imperpetuum eisdem consilio assensu scientia potestatis plenitudine et auctoritate concedimus et assignamus. Nonobstantibus... Nulli ergo... Si quis... Datum Rome apud Sanctumpetrum Anno etc. Millesimo quingentesimo. (A copy without collation.)

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad XI. L. V. To. 100, Regest. 871, f° 364.

DOCUMENT 73.

Inscription on the fortress of Subiaco.

Divo Benedicto.

Rhodoricus Borgia Eps. Portuen Card.
Valentinus S. R. E. vicecancel. Callisti III.
Pont max. Nepos ad securitatem mona
chorum oppidorunque totius tractus
Sublaquien. proximosque fines imperii Ro
manae ecclesiae tutandos hanc arcem
vetere collabente detruncatis undique
rupibus subducto rudere propugnacu
lis terno murali ambitu distinctis ad
ditis cisternis tormentisque bellicis et
insuper tutelari turri gentis suae co
gnomento Borgia appellata immenso pari
que magnitudini sui animi impendio a fond
erexit dicavitque
An. Salutis MCCCCLXXVI sedente
Xisto IIII. pont. max.

Original copy.

DOCUMENT 74.

Cardinal de Borgia named bishop of Albano.

Sixtus etc. dilecto filio Roderico electo Albanensi Salutem etc. Pastoralis officii debitum cui disponente domino presidemus exposcit ut universis orbis ecclesiis quarum nobis cura imminet generalis, et presertim de illis que nobis et apostolice sedi immediate subiecte existunt et suis viduate pastoribus vacationis incommoda deplorare noscuntur solicite cogitemus, ut illis preficiantur viri providi in pastores, qui eas in spiritualibus et temporalibus velint et valeant salubriter regere et feliciter gubernare. Cum itaque nos hodie venerabilem fratrem

nostrum Philippum Portuensem tunc Albanensem episcopum a vinculo quo Albanensi ecclesie cui tunc preerat tenebatur, de venerabilium fratrum nostrorum consilio et apostolice potestatis plenitudine absolventes ipsum ad ecclesiam Portuensem tunc pastoris solatio destitutam transtulerimus, ipsumque illi in episcopum prefecerimus et pastorem, et propterea ipsa Albanensis ecclesia, cui sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalis dumtaxat prefici consuevit, ad presens vacare noscatur, nos ad provisionem ecclesie Albanensis celerem et felicem ne diutine vacationis exponeretur incommodis paternis et solicitis studiis intendentes, post deliberationem quam de preficiendo eidem Albanensi ecclesie personam utilem et etiam fructuosam cum eisdem fratribus habuimus diligentem demum ad te sancti Nicolai in Carcere tulliano diaconum cardinalem eiusdem Romane ecclesie vicecancellarium, qui etiam ecclesie Valentinensi ex concessione et dispensatione sedis apostolice preesse dinosceris, consideratis excellentissimarum virtutum meritis quibus personam tuam illarum largitor dominus insignivit, et quod tu qui prefate Romane ecclesie honorabile membrum existis, illam tuorum honoras magnitudine meritorum, duximus oculos nostre mentis. Quibus omnibus debita meditatione pensatis de persona tua nobis et eisdem fratribus ob tuorum exigentiam meritorum accepta, eisdem Albanensi ecclesie de eorumdem fratrum consilio auctoritate apostolica providemus, teque illi ita preficimus in episcopum et pastorem ut dicte ecclesie Valentinensi presidere non desinas, sed utrique simul ex concessione et dispensatione similibus preesse noscaris, et utriusque pastor et speculus esse censearis, curam et administrationem Albanensis quemadmodum antea Valentinensis ecclesiarum tibi commisse fuere, in eisdem Spiritualibus et temporalibus tibi plenarie committendo, in illo qui dat gratias et largitur premia confidentes quod dirigente domino actus tuos, prefata Albanensis ecclesia per tue industrie et circumspectionis studium fructuosum regetur utiliter et prospere dirigetur, ac grata in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus suscipiet incrementa. Jugum igitur domini tuis impositum humeris prompta devotione suscipiens, curam et administrationem Albanensis ecclesie huiusmodi sic exercere studeas solicite, fideliter et prudenter, quod ipsa Albanensis ecclesia gubernatori provido et fructuoso administratori gaudeat se commissam, tuque preter eterne retributionis premium,

nostram et dicte sedis benedictionem et gratiam exinde uberius consequi merearis. Dat. Rome apud Sanctum Petrum anno etc. Millesimo LXXI tercio Kalendas Septembris, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 551, fº 31vº.

DOCUMENT 75.

Forged confirmation of a gift of cardinal de Borgia to Pedro Luis and Giovanni de Borgia.

Son dos bulas originales en pergamino, de las cuales la primera conserva pendiente el sello de plomo del papa Sixto IV, y la segunda no ; pero ambas iguales.

Sixtus Episcopus etc. Dudum siquidem Venerabili fratri nostro Roderico, Episcopo Portuensi, S. R. E. Vicecancellario disponendi de quibuscumque bonis per eum, etiam per ecclesias seu ecclesiastica beneficia et officia, acquisitis, testando, codicillando et ea inter vivos et causa mortis donando in quorumcumque etiam ex eo genitorum filiorum favorem, usque ad quamcumque summam quantumcumque excessivam facultatem concessimus, et dilectos filios Petrum Ludovicum, adolescentem, et Johannem de Borgia, infantem, ejus natos, ad bona ipsa testamenti et donationum hujusmodi recipiendum, non obstantibus eorum natalium defectibus quos ad id patiuntur, habilitavimus per diversas nostras litteras, quarum vigore prefatus Episcopus et Vicecancellarius, qui ex Cardinalatus et Vicecancellariatus officiis, que fere annis viginti quatuor continue exercuit, ultra numerum centum millia ducatorum percepit, volens de emolumentis dictorum officiorum ac Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum ac ecclesiasticorum beneficiorum · quorumcumque fructibus, redditibus et proventibus aliquam condecentem partem inter eosdem natos suos distribuere. Petro Ludovico quinquaginta, et Johanni infanti, et pro eo nonnullis tutoribus ei datis per Causarum Curie Camere Apostolice generalem Auditorem et locumtenentem Senatoris alme Urbis, viginti quinque milia ducatorum auri de Camera, convertendos in emptionem Ducatuum, vel Comitatuum aut Baroniarum, terrarum, censuum,

censualium, castrorum, villarum, iurium, feudorum seu immobilium bonorum, de quibus et ubi eisdem Petro Ludovico et tutoribus videretur, que alienari non possent...

Nos igitur, qui eiusdem Episcopi et Vicecancellarii exigentibus magnis meritis, eius consideratione Petrum Ludovicum et Johannem, paterna diligimus caritate... motu proprio... etiam post dicti Episcopi et Vicecancellarii obitum, ex nunc prout ex tunc, eisdem Petro Ludovico et Johanni respective, cum eisdem tamen conditionibus, vinculis et obligationibus, cum quibus ab eodem Episcopo et Vicecancellario eis donate existunt... largimur, concedimus et donamus, decernentes ex nunc eosdem Petrum Ludovicum et Johannem, eorumque posteros aut alios quoscumque ad quos prefate pecunie vel Ducatus, Comitatus etc. juxta dictarum donationum tenorem pervenient, super illis nullatenus posse... molestari. Datum Rome, apud Sanctum Petrum, anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo secundo, pridie nonas Februarii, Pontificatus nostri anno duodecimo — Locum Sigilli.

Fidel Fita, Estud. Histor., T. VI, p. 117, from the archives of the duke of Osuna in Madrid, Nos. 932 and 1725, and Thuasne, Diar. Burchardi. T. III. Supplém. à l'Append. p. IV.

DOCUMENT 76.

Cardinal de Borgia's entry into Valencia, and preparation for his visit to Xativa.

Carta de Jayme Rosell, abogado de Valencia, a los jurados de Xátiva, en que les da cuenta e instruye sobre el ceremonial con que deben recibir al cardenal Don Rodrigo de Borja, el qual confiesa ser natural de Xátiva :

Als molt magnifichs, et molt savis Senyors los jurats de la ciutat de Xátiva.

Molt magnifichs et molt savis Senyors : laltre iorn rebi una letra vostre demanantme vos avisas de la solempnitat, ab la qual entra lo reverendissim cardenal legat en la present ciutat. a la qual vos responch, que per esser natural lo dit reverendissim cardenal de aqueza ciutat, e considerada la dignitat e grandissima potestat que te per aquiexa ciutat deu esser mort

solempnissimament rebut. Lo que aci seu feu en la sua recepcio fon que tots los officials reals e de la ciutat acompanyats de moltes notables gents, et tots los nobles, cavallers, ciutadans, e altres a caball lo hixqueren a reebre fins a tavernes blanques : que es tant com se fa a novella entrada de nostre rey e Señor : e all abeurador del cami de Murvedre tots los jurats, governador general, ed altres notables nobles e ciudatans fins en numero de dotse lo esperaren ab hun solempne pali, dins lo qual a caval aná lo dit cardenal, e los qui portaven lo pali tots a peu. Et quant foren al portal dels serrans, lo qual estaba enpaliat de draps de raç, e ab sons diversos de trompetes e tabals entra dins la ciutat ; e en lo portal troba la professo general de la iglesia molt solempne ab pali que portaven capellans, e lo bisbe una fas de la Verge Maria, cantant " Te Deum laudamus " : axi ab la professo dabant, e ell en lo pali dels officials aná lo dit reverendissim cardenal, feu gran volta per tota la ciutat fins a la ceu, y de alli feuta oracio aná a sa posada episcopal. Per totes les carreras hon passa, les finestres e enfronts de portes estaven enpaliades de draps de raç e bancals, e les portes dels menestrals en les coses de lurs mesters, lo milor que tenien. Tota la gent de la ciutat li feya gran festa e honor.

Aço Senyors no es cosa de gran cost, que la mes espesa es lo pali, lo qual es dels seus, dich del Senyor Cardinal. Axi, Senyors, considerau ha honor que reporta aquexa ciutat per esserne ell natural de ella. E feuli solempne festa ; e nons poden escusar de pali. Ell trametc aqui lo reverent mestre Alfageri, mestre en teologia, servidor seu ab lletra per al magnifich gobernador, justicia e jurats de aquexa ciutat, per notificarvos la sua anada. Sa Senyoria mena dit sera en aquesta ciutat, dimecres a pres menjar, e digons de mati o per tot dia : feu e preparau lo que mester es, e feuli molta honor, que no faren ultra io seu merexer, e manau de mi, e sera feyt.

Scrit en Valencia á 30 de Juliol 1473.

Concordauvos ab lo capitol sobre la professo, encara ne hauran hur carrech.

A vostra ordinacio, prest Jacme Rossell.

Villanueva, Viage Literario, Apendice de documentos. T. IV, p. 305.

DOCUMENT 77.

Address of Cardinal legate de Borgia to his diocesan clergy in Valencia.

Dies tandem illuxit, Venerabiles in Christo Fratres, quam semper optatam, semper quaesitam, antehac tempora non permisere. Venimus ad sponsam nostram, Valentinam ecclesiam, gloria sacerdotii toto orbe illustrem ; recognoscimus populum nostrae custodiae creditum, religione et fide nulli christianae urbi cedentem. Contemplamur denique venerandum hunc et vere dignum sorte Domini consessum vestrum, quo uno plus longe quam coeteris loetamur, extollimur ac gloriamur. Agimus igitur gratias omnipotenti Deo tanti hujus muneris largitori, nomini sancto ejus benedicimus illudque propheticum cum sancto sene cantamus : Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace ; quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum, quo tandem pax et consolatio cupienti animae est data. Agimus et Beatissimo Pontifici nostro Xisto, qui ad haec regna occidua nostrum ministerium deligens, patriae et parentibus, longo post tempore ipsos reddidit.

Olim autem cum praepositi huic tam venerandae Sedi essemus, nunquam ne juvenilibus quidem annis nos latuit et quid nostri muneris esset, et quid publicum civitatis desiderium ferret ; scivimus quantum ad pie vivendum conferat pastoris praesentia, quanta gregi, curante illo, proveniat salus. Non ignoravimus Episcopi, hoc, Superintendentis, nomen propriam non alienam pro se operam poscere ; scripturam quoque praecipientem audivimus : cognosce diligenter vultum pecoris tui et tuos greges considera. Sed, teste Deo cui omne cor patet, his omnibus voluntas nunquam impedimentum, semper necessitas nobis dolentibus attulit. Parendum fuit Summo omnium Patri, et a majorum decretis non abeundum, Cardinalatus haec dignitas majori quodam vinculo apostolicae nos Sedi astringit ; ad illius ascripti consilium, nisi cum mittimur, abesse non possumus. Accedit Romanae Cancellariae ingens quidem et operosa administratio, cujus cum apud Pontificem secunda sit cura ad totius Ecclesiae commodum instituta, carere praeside suo sine magno detrimento non potest. Illi quidem ante omnia obtem-

perandum est semper, cui et plus imperii concessit Deus, et plus a nobis deberi cognoscimus. Quod ergo adesse hactenus concessum non est, quod per alium munus nostrum implevimus: non propositi sed temporum fuit. Sic ecclesiarum multarum rectores, sic Reges et principes gravioribus implicati, vicarios operum quaerunt, sic Romanus Pontifex uni ante alias consecratus ecclesiae, vicem nihilominus potestatis in caeteris collocat. Sic denique Christus Jesus, in Celis agens, vicarios dandae salutis in grege suo constituit.

Praesentes autem nunc vobiscum beneficio suo cum simus, nonnulla sunt, Fratres, quae primo conventu hoc charitas silere non sinit : Agimus imprimis vobis omnibus meritas gratias, quod adventum hunc nostrum votis continuis expectastis : id enim certissimum nobis est, et animi in nos vestri argumentum perspicuum facit ; deinde quod, memores filialis officii reveriti sedulo estis patrem absentem, prepositorum ejus dicto audientes fuistis, coluistis ecclesiam et divinum opus aliquod desiderari in domo Dei passi non estis, postremo, quod advenientes nos tantis honoribus tamque solemnibus accepistis, ut in iis non modo praesulatus nostri et legationis decor, sed imprimis summa voluntas et voluntati conjuncta alacritas plane patuerit. Ingens hoc studium tantum ad nostrum in vos addidit quantum addi amori cumulato jam poterat. Retributor omnium Deus pietate sua concedat ut tribuere et nos piis officiis aliquando possimus.

Hortamur autem vos omnes in unum, Dilectissimi nostri, licet exhortationem omnem vestra opera vincant, ut in incoepto virtutis et religionis persistentes, dignius indies obsequium Deo creatori nostro, et matri vestrae Valentinae Sedi praestetis. Hoc enim et professionis sacerdotalis et praeteritarum vestrarum actionum est opus. De vobis enim scriptum : genus electum, regale sacerdotium, gens sancta et populus acquisitionis. Invigilate assidue cultui Altissimi, scientes quod domum suam decet sanctitudo in longitudine dierum, et quod per hoc pascimur de altari et collocati in honoribus sumus. Id operemur semper, ut et ministerium nostrum in ecclesia famuletur et, juxta apostolum Paulum, nullam occasionem demus maledicti gratia : sollicitudine non pigri, spiritu ferventes, Domino servientes ; vita porro vestra : quod facitis professioni quantum fieri possit, consentiat, eam semper modestiam servet quae nec

animos nec oculos aspicientium turbet. Ad aliorum consecrati exemplum, cum nostri immemores sumus, exemplo ipso gravius longe peccamus quam re. Ambulemus honeste, et bonam famam custodiamus, dispensationi nostrae maxime necesariam.

Inter caetera autem, Dilectissimi, fraternitatem servate inter vos et cum consensu in domo Domini ambulate : Mandatum, inquit Salvator, do vobis ut diligatis invicem sicut dilexi vos ; in hoc cognoscent omnes quod mei discipuli estis, si dilectionem habueritis ad invicem. Quanto ad gloriam Ecclesiae ejusque incrementa haec virtus pertinet, tanto ad damnum et dedecus est proclive discidium ; ubi zelus et contentio est, inquit apostolus Jacobus, ibi inconstantia et omne opus pravum ; omnis ergo offensionis lapis, omnis petra scandali facessat a vobis. Sapite idem, pacem habete, et Deus pacis et dilectionis erit vobiscum.

Quoniam vero libertas Ecclesiae data a Domino, a nostris patribus magna cum cura retenta, gloriam sacerdotii in populis auxit, etiam precamur ut ad eam colendam tutandamque non modo unanimes sitis, id quod imprimis est necessarium, sed nullam defatigationem, nullumque discrimen declinandum putetis. Etenim si ad jactantiam, modo saeculi, vana olim gentilitas, pro sua retinenda, in ferrum, in caedes, ad interitum manifestum certatim ruebat ; quanto id magis sacerdotibus convenit ? quibus ipse Deus est proemium et vita mors ; qui ad custodiam Ecclesiae positi sumus, quibus etiam dicitur : certate ad mortem pro justitia, et Deus expugnabit pro vobis inimicos vestros. Amissa autem libertate hac, quid reliqui amplius est, in quo facere jacturam damnosiorem possimus ? An non sine honore, sine potestate omnis nostra conditio redditur ? Contemnimur haud dubie et conculcamur, et opprobrium hominum sumus et abjectio plebis. In hac conservanda convenite in unum singuli omnes autem consentite praepositis nostris, qui cooperatores vobiscum erunt, et pro nobis duces certaminum fient. In pugna vestra, cui vires administrat Deus, libertas est ; in fuga, misera servitus, scriptum est enim : manus fortium dominabitur, quae autem remissa est tributis serviet. Magna est vestra nobilitas, major omni nobilitate Ecclesia. Suam libertatem totis viribus utrisque praestate, idque nobiscum agite ut, juxta Salvatoris verbum, quae Caesaris Caesari, quae Dei sunt Deo reddantur.

Sed haec atque hujusmodi et alias saepe et uberius.

Nunc in publicis pauca attendite. Mittimur, ut scitis, Fratres, pro redemptione fidelium in quos hostilis gladius crudeliter saevit. Domita Asia, Turcus, ac magna Europae parte, bis jam est ingressus Italiam, incendiisque ac caedibus cuncta involvens ; caput religionis nostrae, Sacrarium sanctorum Apostolorum sanctorumque Martyrum, Urbem Romam petit, ut, illo oppresso, reliquum Christiani nominis corpus simul intereat. Si quibus subvenire, si quibus praesto adesse convenit, sorti quidem nostrae imprimis convenit. Gregum ductores sumus, in specula excubamus, ut illos praestemus incolumes. De nostro exemplo aequum est caeteri sumant exemplum. Hortamur charitatem vestram in Domino, ac pie paterneque rogamus ut, qua ope quibusve potestis consiliis profectionem hanc nostram necessariumque opus juvetis. Scimus zelus vester quantus in domo Dei sit quantaque ad opera ejus voluntas. Causa quidem nulla est, in qua exerceri dignius nec meritis majoribus sacerdotale patrocinium possit.

Verum nunc pauca haec protulisse in commune sit satis. Caetera in quibus collaborare, et adhiberi curam vestram expediat, cum aratrum manu praehenderimus, plenius noscetis ex nobis.

Nunc, Fratres dilectissimi, quos invicem sors praesulatus hujus conjunxit, Beatissimi Patris et Pontificis nostri Xysti Quarti nomine, vobis omnibus ex toto corde nostro, ex tota anima nostra, et ex totis visceribus nostris, in Christo Jesu benedicimus, rogantes Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, ut et sanctam hanc Valentinam ecclesiam de excelso sancto suo super respiciat, et vos ejus alumnos ad ministerium suum gratia coelesti conservet. Amen.

Epistolae et commentarii Jacobi Piccolomini Cardinalis Papiensis, Edit. 1506, f° 228v°.

DOCUMENT 78.

Praises of Cardinal de Borgia, as legate to Spain, and financial accounts of the legation.

Sixtus etc. Venerabili fratri Roderico Ep^e^ Albanen. Sancte Romane Ecclesie Vicecancellario Salt. etc. Exigit tue eximie

virtutis integritas et probata in rebus commissis sinceritas promeretur ut indempnitati tue et tuorum heredum ac successorum. ne pro dignis operibus ac laboribus egregiis que pro sede apostolica et Romana Ecclesia pertulisti, tu aut ipsi in futurum molestiam seu dampnum aliquod pati possitis, salubriter consulamus ; hoc namque suadet equitas ne hii quibus administrationes et rerum agendarum exercitia commissa fuerunt, in quibus presertim curam solertem adhibuerunt, et fideliter ac virtuose operati sunt, inde gravamen sustineant unde potius laudem premiumque merentur. Cum itaque, Venerabilis frater, tu, quem dudum ad regna Hyspaniarum et ceteras earumdem Hyspaniarum ac illis adjacentes partes et insulas Legatum nostrum de latere pro magnis et arduis peragendis negotiis destinavimus, officium legationis hujusmodi laudabiliter exercueris et in eisdem Regnis, partibus et insulis tam ex commissione et mandato nostro speciali quam dicte legationis auctoritate grandes administrationes et ardua negotia pertractaveris et tenueris, quibus durantibus nonnulle pecuniarum summe pro negotiis et servitiis nostris ac Sedis et Ecclesie predictarum ac Camere apostolice, etiam ratione nonnullarum facultatum per nos tibi per diversas literas nostras concessarum, ad manus tuas pervenerunt, tuque dictas pecuniarum summas prout re ipsa, ac ex veris calculatis rationibus tuis nobis exhibitis et verificatis liquidissime apparuit pro salariis tibi ratione prefate legationis debitis retinueris, ac in eisdem regnis partibus et insulis tua sollicitudine et vigilantia circumspectaque providentia negotia tibi commissa, quantum in te fuit, ad finem debitum deducere conatus fueris, dignusque propterea magna commendatione et retributione condigna. Et propterea volentes te et tuos heredes ac successores predictos reddere indemnes, ne propter administrationes, negotia et pecuniarum receptiones hujusmodi, seu alias ipsarum occasione in futurum aliquod gravamen aut detrimentum paciaris seu paciantur, de premissis per ocularem visionem ac ipsarum rerum experientiam plenissime informati, Motu proprio, non ad tuam vel alterius pro te Nobis super hoc oblate peticionis instanciam, sed de nostra mera liberalitate ac ex debito justicie, quam unicuique reddere tenemur, et ex certa nostra scientia te, qui presentium testimonio literarum Nos et Romanos Pontifices successores nostros ac Sedem et Cameram hujusmodi de pecuniarum summis qui-

buscumque tui salarii aut alia quavis occasione vel causa ratione dicte legationis a Nobis vel eadem Camera tibi debitis quittas plenissime, liberas et absolvis imperpetuum ac quietos, liberos et absolutos facis et esse vis, necnon tuos heredes et successores predictos a dictis administratione et pecuniarum summis, quarum omnium et singularum quantitates, ac si desi-gnate et specificate nominatimque hic expresse forent, necnon causas propter quas illas recepisti presentibus haberi volumus pro sufficienter expressis, quitamus plenissime liberamus et penitus absolvimus imperpetuum ac quietos liberos et absolutos a nobis et successoribus nostris predictis ac eadem camera denuntiamus, declaramus facimus atque volumus presentium per tenorem, statuentes et decernentes quod super dictis administratione et pecuniarum summis per te receptis aut ipsarum occasione quacumque per quempiam cujusvis dignitatis status gradus ordinis vel conditionis fuerit ullo unquam tempore inquietari impeti vexari aut molestari in judicio vel extra quocumque titulo vel ratione criminaliter vel civiliter quomodocumque nullatenus possis, seu tui heredes et successores predicti possint. Renuntiantes prout renuntiamus ni hiis omnibus errori calculi et cuicumque alteri juri naturali canonico et civili contrarium disponenti, ac adimentes gentibus prefate camere thesaurario depositario fisco et aliis officialibus nris. et dicte sedis nunc et pro tempore existentibus aliisque quibuscumque personis facultatem et potestatem in contrarium faciendi, ita etiam ut nullo unquam tempore ab aliquo seu aliquibus occasione predictarum administrationum seu pecuniarum quovis modo ratio ulla vel computum possit exigi vel requiri a te aut heredibus vel successoribus tuis supradictis. Decernentes quoque irritum et inane si secus super hiis a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attemptari. Non obstantibus... Nulli ergo... Si quis autem... Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum an. etc. M°CCCC°liijt° Decimo Kl. Junii pon^tus nri. anno tertio.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Secret. L. I. Tom. I. Regest. 546, f° 62.

DOCUMENT 79.

Cardinal de Borgia named bishop of Porto.

Sixtus etc. Ven^li^ fratri Roderico Ep^o^ Portuen. Salt. etc... Postmodum vero Portuen. ecclesia prefata per obitum dicti philippy, qui extra romanam curiam debitum nature persolvit, pastoris solatio destituta. Nos vacatione hujusmodi fidedignis relatibus intellecta, ad ejusdem Portuensis ecclesie provisionem celerem et felicem... post maturam deliberationem quam de preficiendo eidem ecclesie Portuensi utilem personam et idoneam cum ceteris venerabilibus fratribus nostris habuimus diligentem. Demum ad te Albanen. ac ex dispensatione apostolica Valentinen. Epum et Roman. ecclesie prelibate Vicecancellarium, consideratis eximiarum virtutum donis quibus preclaram personam tuam insignivit Altissimus, quodque tu eamdem Romanam ecclesiam cujus honorabile membrum existis, assidue honoras tuorum magnitudine meritorum, quique predictarum ecclesiarum regiminibus hactenus laudabiliter prefuisti, prefatam Portuen. ecclesiam scies et poteris, auctore domino, salubriter regere et feliciter gubernare, non immerito direximus oculos nostre mentis, intendentesque eidem Portuensi ecclesie illiusque gregi dominico salubriter providere, te a vinculo quo ipsi Albanensi ecclesie tenebaris, de fratrum nostrorum consilio et apostolice potestatis plenitudine absolventes, te ad prefatam Portuen. ecclesiam, Ita tamen quod Valentin. ecclesie preesse iliusque presul existere ac jus tam in Spiritualibus quam temporalibus curam regimen et administrationem gerere et exercere non desinas, et unacum Portuen. et Valentin. hujusmodi ac alii vel aliis ad quam seu ad quas te forsan transferri, aut quibus de persona tua provideri contigerit, necnon Sancti Nicolai in carcere tulliano et Sancte Marie in Vialata que tituli diaconorum cardinalium existunt, omnibusque et singulis aliis ecclesiis, monasteriis, etc... quoad vixeris retinere valeas, de eorumdem fratrum consilio, apostolica auctoritate et ex certa scientia transferimus, teque ipsi Portuen. ecclesie preficimus in Ep^m^ et Pastorem... Ad prefatam igitur Portuensem ecclesiam cum gratia nostre benedictionis accedens curam et administrationem predictas si exercere studeas solicite fideliter et prudenter quod ecclesia ipsa gubernatore provido et fructuoso gaudeat se com-

missam ac precellentis fame et eximie virtutum claritatis odor atque splendor ex laudabilibus tuis actibus diffundatur... Datum Narnie anno Incarnationis dominice Millesimo CCCCLXXVj. Septimo Kl. Agusti pont^{s} nri. anno quinto.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Bullar. L. XXVI, To. XXXI, Regest. 576, f° 251vo.

DOCUMENT 80.

Cardinal de Borgia appoints a lieutenant-governor of Nepi and of Città Castellana.

Ad XII. Julii 1492. Rodericus Miseratione divina Ep^{us} Portuen. Card. Valent. s. r. ecc^{e} Vicecancell. ac Civitatis Castellane et Nepesin. civitatum ex concessione apostolica ad vite tempora Dominus, Venerabili et integerrimo viro dno. Arnaldo de Scinete Cecilia decretorum doctori canonico Maioricen. familiari continuo commensali et commissario nro, dilectissimo Salutem in dno. sempiternam. Quum bono et pacifico predictarum civitatum regimini et populorum earumdem quieti et tranquillitàti studiose intendimus, et ut id assequi facile valeamus duximus expedire aliquem probum ydoneum et fidelem virum pro eodem regimine illuc ad nostrum beneplacitum destinatum. Idcirco nos de tua...

Archiv. Comunale Civitatis Castellanae — Consigli et Decreti 1492 ad 1495.

DOCUMENT 81.

Cardinal de Borgia authorized to dispose of all benefices and offices of St. Mary Major.

Sixtus etc. Ven^{li} fri. Roderico Ep^{o} Portuen... Sane nuper ecclesia Sancte Potentiane... ac archipresbiteratu ecc^{e} B. Marie Majoris... vacantibus, Nos illos... tibi... commendavimus. Nos igitur cupientes ut dicta ecclesia b^{te} Marie Majoris, ob specialem et precipuam devotionem ..... quam ad eandem beatam Mariam continue gessimus et gerimus singulari devotione complectimur, personis ydoneis et divino cultui intentis

fulciatur per quas cultus ipse in eadem ecclesia continuetur et etiam amplietur, ac sperantes quod tu, qui erga ipsam beatam virginem non minori devotione ferves, perpetue exacte diligentie studio eidem ecclesie de hujusmodi personis ydoneis et benemeritis voles et poteris providere, iccirco motu proprio... fraternitati tue ut quamdiu Archipresbiteratum predictum obtinueris, omnia et singula canonicatus et prebendas cappellanias beneficia et officia ecclesiastica dicte ecclesie bte. Marie quotiens illa inanter per cessum vel decessum aut quocumque alio modo vacare contigerit, etiam si dispositioni apostolice sedis ex quavis causa specialiter vel generaliter reservata existant vel pro tempore fuerint, personis ydoneis de quibus tibi videbitur... apostolica auctoritate... conferre et de illis etiam providere... libere et licite valeas... concedimus. Datum apud S. Petrum anno etc. Mcccclxxxiij, Octavo Kl. Apr. A° 12°.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Bullar. L. LXXX. Tom. LXXXV, Regest., 630, f° 184.

DOCUMENT 82.

Cardinal de Borgia establishes a school of church music.

Innocentius etc. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Decorem Domus Dei quam decet sanctitudo et divini cultus augmentum intensis desideriis affectantes votis illis gratum prestamus assensum per que fidelium devotio erga ecclesias presertim alme Urbis nostre ad quam de diversis mundi partibus christifideles continue confluunt adaugeri et ecclesie ipse ad laudem ejus qui habitat in excelsis divinis preconiis valeant resonare. Sane venerabilis frater noster Rodericus episcopus Portuensis S. R. E. vicecancellarius qui archipresbyteratum ecclesie sancte Marie Majoris de dicta Urbe ex concessione et dispensatione apostolica obtinet in commendam, Nobis nuper exposuit quod licet in dicta ecclesia beate Marie a certo tempore citra pro decore et venustate illius ac inibi divini cultus augmento esse consueverunt certi clerici pueri inibi divina officia cantantes et dicte ecclesie beate Marie deservientes, quia tamen pro puerorum predictorum substentatione non sunt aliqui certi redditus deputati, dubitet ipse episcopus ne successu temporis pueri prefati

non habentes cum quo valeant se sustentare a servitio dicte ecclesie beate Marie penitus retrahantur, quod si fieret in magnam ejusdem ecclesie beate Marie diminutionem. Verum si unus ex canonicatibus et una ex prebendis dicte ecclesie beate Marie ac una ex perpetuis capellaniis in illa quos primo per cessum vel decessum seu quamvis aliam dimissionem illos obtinentis etiam apud sedem apostolicam vacare contingerit et quam capellaniam ipse Rodericus episcopus et pro tempore existens archipresbyter dicte ecclesie seu archipresbyter ipsius commendatarius duxerit eligendam penitus supprimerentur et extinguerentur, ac statueretur et ordinaretur quod de cetero perpetuis futuris temporibus in dicta ecclesia beate Marie quinque vel sex aut plures si videbitur clerici pueri ac unus eorum eruditus et magister in cantu et arte musice instructi qui inibi ad nutum prefati episcopi et pro tempore existentis archipresbyteri dicte ecclesie beate Marie seu ipsius archipresbyteri commendatarii deputarentur et amoverentur, quodque fructus redditus et proventus jura obventiones et emolumenta omnia per canonicos dicte ecclesie Beate Marie et perpetuos capellanos in illa pro tempore existente inibi residentes et horis diurnis ac nocturnis interessentes percipi solita inter magistrum et pueros prefatos juxta ordinationem episcopi aut pro tempore existentis archipresbyteri seu commendatarii prefati distribuerentur et in ipsorum substentationem dumtaxat et non in alios usus converterentur, ex hoc profecto spes esset quod dicti pueri et magister eorum ad deserviendum dicte ecclesie B. Marie tempore procedente non deficerent, quod ad maximam ipsius ecclesie B. M. venustatem et Dei ac cujus ecclesia ipsi nomini est dedicata ejus genitricis laudem et gloriam ac confluentes ad illam pro divinis officiis hujusmodi audiendis populi consolationem et animarum salutem cederet : Quare idem episcopus qui semper ad ipsam gloriosam Virginem singularem gessit et in dies peramplius gerit devotionis affectum nobis humiliter supplicavit ut unum ex canonicatibus et unam ex prebendis ac unam ex cappellaniis predictis primo vacaturis penitus supprimere et extinguere ac quod fructus redditus et proventus jura obventiones et emolumenta predicta per canonicos et capellanos in illa residentes et dictis horis deservientes percipi solita in magistri ac puerorum predictorum sustentationem convertantur statuere et ordinare

aliasque in premissis oportune providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur qui ecclesiarum omnium statum in melius dirigi nostris potissime temporibus supremis desideramus affectibus, capellanie ac canonicatus et prebende predictorum fructuum reddituum et proventuum veros annuos valores ac presentibus pro expressis habentes, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati unum ex canonicatis et unam ex prebendis ac unam ex capellaniis predictis ut prefertur primo vacaturis et quamprimum ipse episcopus aut pro tempore existens archipresbyter seu commendatarius prefatus duxerint eligendum etiam si de jure patronatus personarum ecclesiasticarum etiam religiosorum regularium et illa ac primo vacaturi canonicatus et prebenda hujusmodi dispositioni apostolice ratione personarum illos obtinentium vel alias ex quavis causa etiam ratione vacationis illorum apud sedem predictam generaliter reservati seu ex generali apostolica reservatione affecti fuerint apostolica auctoritate et ex certa scientia tenore presentium penitus supprimimus et extinguimus, illorumque bona omnia... ad usum predictum ut prefertur applicamus et appropriamus et quod fructus redditus et proventus jura obventiones et emolumenta hujusmodi inter dictum magistrum et pueros pro illorum sustentatione... distribuantur... Datum Rome apud S. Petrum anno etc. MccccLxxx nono, quarto Kalendas Maii pontus nri. anno quinto.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 746, f° 372.

DOCUMENT 83.

The Pope replaces Cardinal de Borgia, as bishop of Erlau, by the candidate of the King of Hungary.

Regi Hungarie. Carissime etc. Quanto studio contenderemus apud Majestatem tuam ut Ven. frater noster R. Epus Portuen. Sancte Ro. ecclie. carlis vicecancellarius Ecclesiam Agrien. assequeretur, exhinc novit tua majestas cum ad eam de hujusmodi re efficacissimas literas etiam manu propria conscriptas dederimus. Nec immerito talem nos provisionem fecisse videri poteramus, tum propter ejusdem cardinalis in nos et sedem apostolicam plurima ac maxima merita, tum quia non ignari

eramus quanto studio fide et diligentia ipse in tuam majestatem preditus esset, et quantopere vestris honori et commodis apud nos et predecessores nostros assidue consulere consuevisset. Postmodum vero quum nobis persuadissemus quod majestas tua provisionem nostram effectui demandasset, supervenit dilectus filius Benedictus prepositus nuntius tuus cum tue Serenitatis literis ex quarum tenore ac ipsius nuncii et Ven^lis^ fratris Jo. Ep^i^ Syrmien. oratoris tui relatione intelleximus Celsitudinem tuam desiderio nostro hac vice satisfacere non potuisse, quin ymo illam pro venerabili fratre Jaurien. Epo thesaurario tuo ardentissime affecturo (sic). Pro qua re summis et maximis precibus non tam oratores ipsi qui tuo nomine regie tue manificentie et eidem vicecancellario condignam responsam nobis sponte obtulerunt et promiserunt quod ipsemet cardinalis, utpote tue majestatis desiderio obsequi cupidissimus, coram suppliciter deflexis etiam genibus petierunt. (This passage is evidently disfigured by the recorder, yet leaves us a guess at its meaning.) Nos enim, licet durum admodum videretur nostrum honestum mutare propositum, quum propter honorem ac dignitatem sedis apostolice que in ea non mediocriter ledi videbatur tum ipsius vicecancellarii causa, cui nulla ex parte talis ecclesia auferri debuerat ; tamen perspecto tue majestatis hujusmodi desiderio, moti etiam vehementissimis ipsius cardinalis precibus, qui non minus quam prefati oratores nobis hac de causa supplicavit, tue majestati morem gerere decrevimus, pro certo existimantes, sicuti oratores ipsi constantissime affirmarunt, tuam majestatem suis hujusmodi promissis nequaquam esse defuturam, pro suo regio et vero catholico animo. Itaque tametsi ex eisdem oratoribus tua majestas de hujusmodi re latius certior fiat, tamen quia literas nostras pro majori tue majestatis letitia eidem efflagitarunt eo magis quod hec sacratissima tempora fieri consistorium prohibent, facere non potuimus quin eas conscriberemus, affirmantes, quantum cum Deo licuerit, facta relatione, ut moris est, per prefatum vicecancellarium, cui tamen ipsam commisimus, in primo consistorio ecclesiam Agrien. pro prefato thesaurario et Jaurien. pro secretario ad votum et animum tuum nos expedituros. Hortamur igitur majestatem tuam et toto affectu requirimus ut posteaquam eidem gratificari etiam cum aliqua nota studemus, ipsa nobis rependat que jure et honeste retribui debent, cardinalem

videlicet ipsum veluti sui studiosissimum commendatum habere et amplecti velit. Et quum pro sua optima voluntate de tua majestate promerendi sicuti reipsa declaravit, talem quamprimum compensari facere studeat qualem sua benemerita postulant, et nos etiam desideramus in nostram personam gratissime suscepturi. Quod autem tua majestas eumdem cardinalem regni et rerum suarum apud nos protectorem et fauctorem esse decrevit fuit nobis mirifice gratum, et quod talem delectum tua majestas habuerit summopere laudamus. Certe tam dignus tam gravis prelatus tueque majestati deditissimus et fidelissimus negocia sibi per te imposita non poterit non fideliter ac diligenter obire. Et ut omnem spem atque omnem bonam opinionem de illo tua majestas concipiat eam etiam atque etiam hortamur. Datum etc.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. LIII. No. 18, f° 146.

DOCUMENT 84.

Estimation of Cardinal de Borgia.

Innocentius episcopus servus servorum dei venerabili fratri Roderico episcopo Portuensi sancte Romane ecclesie vicecancellario salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Dum ad personam tuam generis nobilitate conspicuam, pollentem meritis et virtutibus insignitam nostre dirigimus considerationis intuitum et actenta meditatione pensamus quod tu Cardinalatus dignitate prefulgens felicis recordationis Calisto Tercio, Pio Secundo, Paulo etiam Secundo et Sixto Quarto Romanis pontificibus predecessoribus nostris et postremo nobis in supportacione onerum Romane ecclesie annis jam triginta vel circa summissis humeris, sedula diligenta nullis parcendo laboribus, assistendo tua singulari prudencia ingenii dexteritate, maturitate consilii fidei integritate et in agendis longeva experienta aliisque innumeris virtutibus quibus pollere dignosceris prefate ecclesie plurimum profuisti et continue prodesse non cessas, dignum quin potius debitum reputamus ut, sicut Altissimus qui dignis digna rependit et illos uberiori gratiarum retributione prosequitur quos novit maioribus meritis adiuvari, te speciali decoravit prerogativa virtutum, ita nos qui illius vices gerimus in terris te

qui iam primum in ordine sacri collegii venerabilium fratrum nostrorum prefate ecclesie Cardinalium locum tenes, speciali prosequamur prerogativa favoris... Datum Rome etc. an. Millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo sexto, pridie Idus Aprilis, Pontificat. etc. anno secundo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Innoc. VIII. Regest. 682, f° 251.

DOCUMENT 85.

Inscription under the image of the Blessed Mother of God in the house of the Vicechancellor.

Virginis hanc Matris spectas quicumque figuram
Mente pia Sanctum dic reverenter Ave
Tum dominum rerum pueri sub imagine supplex
Perstet ut incolumis Borgia posce domus.

J. B. de Rossi, Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, Vol. II, P. I, p. 445.

N. The inscriptions were gathered by Peter Sabinus, professor in Archigymnasio Romano, in A. D. 1494 and preserved in Venice, Codice Marciano Lat. X. 195.

DOCUMENT 86.

Prominent members of the court of Roderic de Borgia during the latter half of his cardinalate.

Bernardus Borrel, Pbr. Valentin., U. J. Baccal. (Regest. 546, f° 208vo.)

Johannes de Machon, Cler. Laudunensis, nobilis (Reg. 590, f° 155.)

Jacobus Conill, or Covill, Pbr. Valentin. Capellan. Cardinalis, (Reg. 590, f° 255.)

Johannes Castellar, Can. Valentin. Notar. pp. (Reg. 600, f° 223vo,)

Petrus Rolla, Cler. Valentin, Nobilis. (Reg. 607, f° 165.)

Petrus de Villoldo, Abbas secul. Palentin. Decret. Baccal. ,Reg. 612, f° 154vo.)

Guillelmus Raymundus Cathala, Nobilis. (Reg. 616, f° 163.)

Petrus de Solis, Nobilis. (Reg. 616, f° 303.)

Jacobus Serra, Segobricen., Magister Theol. (Reg. 618, f° 304.)

Gerardus Martini, Nobilis, U. J. Dr. (Reg. 619, f° 236.)

Petrus, Abbas Monast. S. Ben. Vicen. dioc. (Reg. 632, f° 1.)

Franciscus Lloris, Frat. Ord. Sci. Joan. Hierosolim. (Reg. 632, f° 165vo.)

Petrus, Abbas. Monast. S. Bened. de Bagiis Vicen. dioc. (Reg. 633, f° 150vo.)

Franciscus de Valentia, Cler. Zamoren. Nobilis. (Reg. 635, f° 233.)

Petrus Ludovicus Sanz, Cler. Valentin. Baccal. Decret (Reg. 635, f° 297vo.)

Franciscus Gacet, Cler. Valentin., U. J. Dr. Lit. Apostol. abbrev., famil. pp. (Reg. 638, f° 150vo.)

Jacobus Conil, in Theol. Mgr. (Reg. 639, f°60.)

Michael Guni, Camerar. Vicecancellii. (Reg. 639, f° 240.)

Petrus Sanctii de Guinea, Baccal. Decret. (Reg. 640, f°44.)

Petrus Bartolomei, Can. Barchinon., Decret. Dr. (Reg. 640, f° 209.)

Cristoforus Geraldi, Can. Ilerden., acolyt. et famil. pp. (Reg. 641. f° 44.)

Martinus de Latras, Cler. Oscen., Nobilis. (Reg. 646, f° 173vo.)

Amanricus Cholet, Pbr. Redonen. U. J. Lic. (Reg. 652, f° 92vo.)

Rodericus Messia, Can. Ispal. in Medecina Mgr., Nobilis (Reg. 653, f° 212.)

Joannes Chardalli de Marvilla, Meten., Licent. Decret. (Reg. 663, f° 292vo.)

Ludovicus Thora, acolyt. pp. (Reg. 663, f° 306vo.)

Antonius Ferrer, Abbas de Hermedes. (Reg. 663, f° 321.)

Michael Oliva, Cler. Maioricen., Decret. Baccal. (Reg. 663, f° 544.)

Mathias Mercader, Can. et Archidiac. ecclie. Valentin., Decret. Dr. (Reg. 673, f° 249vo.)

Johannes de Borgia, Liter. Aplic. Correct., Notar. pp. Cardli. Assist. (Reg. 673, f° 458vo.)

Jeronimus Lopis, de militari genere. (Reg. 683, f° 385.)

Johannes Lenzol (Reg. 686, f° 305.)

Johannes de Soldervila, Can. Terracon. Decret. Dr. (Reg. 683, f° 316vo.)

Franciscus de Borgia, Can. Valentin., Decret. Dr. Litt. Apostol. Sollicitator, familiar. pp. (Reg. 688, f° 7vo.)

Alfonsus Munyol, Cler. Tirasonen. Nobilis. (Reg. 711, f° 216.)

Petrus de Villa dei, Legionen. dioc., Decret. Dr. (Reg. 712, fiis 135, 138.)

Rodericus Mexica, Medecine Dr., Cler. Toletan. (Reg. 713, f° 46.)

Petrus de Villada, Can. Compostellan. Decret. Dr. (Reg. 713, f° 51.)

Johannes Cornelius Camcapano, Rect. paroch. de Roo, dioc. Compostell. (Reg. 714, f° 133.)

Franciscus Desprats, Carthaginen., Decret. Dr. (Reg. 715, fiis 202, 204.)

Joannes Eps. Agrigentinus. (Reg. 716, f° 176vo.)

Michael Amico, Can. Segobricen., Nobilis, Famil. pp. (Reg. 718, fs 111.)

Ludovicus de Amargos, Cler. Dertusien., Decret. Bachal. (Reg. 718, fs 295.)

Antonius Lurier, Pbr. Jaccen., S. Theol. Baccal. (Reg. 720, f° 199vo.)

Petrus Martini de la Canal, Pbr. Calaguritan. Decret. Baccal. (Reg. 720, f° 207vo.)

Alanus Dufan, Cler. Maclovien. Decret. Licent. (Reg. 721, f° 57vo.)

Joannes torre, Cler. Barchinonen., Nobilis. (Reg. 721, f° 96vo.)

Johannes dyhot de Armendaritz, S. Theol. Baccal. (Reg. 721, f° 209vo.)

Joannes Hoyer, Can. Osilien., in Artibus Mgr. (Reg. 724, f° 88.)

Angelus, Elect. Ortanus et Civ. Castellan. (Reg. 725, f° 271vo.)

Ludovicus de Aça, Cler. Abulen., Nobilis. (Reg. 725, f° 328.)

Petrus de Villada, Abbas Burgen., Decret. Dr. (Reg. 726, f° 233vo.)

Rodericus Messia, Can. Salaman., Decret. Dr. (Reg. 727, f° 19vo.)

Jacobus Garsie de Atheca, Tirasonen. Nobilis (Reg. 728, f° 167.)

Joannes Cotini, Scriptor et familiaris pp. (Reg. 729,

Leonardus de Cosco, Calaguritan., Decret. Baccal. (Reg. 730, f° 234.)

Petrus Ametti, Briocen., Licent. in Legibus. (Reg. 731, f° 206.)

Petrus Epˢ Ussellensis. (Reg. 732, f° 33vo.)

Joannes Altegiri, S. Theol. Mgr., Can. Segobricen. (Reg. 732, f° 95.)

Ludovicus de Fora, Acolyt. pp., Can. S. Marie de Urbe. (Reg. 733, f° 283.)

Michael Moure, Archidiac. Bicen., Theol. Baccal. (Reg. 734, f° 138.)

Bartholomeus Marti Epˢ. Sogobricen. qui apud Rodericum Epᵐ Portuen. moram traxit. (Reg. 735, f° V.)

Almus Dutari, Thesaur. ecclie. Nanoten. Decret. Licent. Nobilis. (Reg. 735, f° 56.)

Gaspar Torella, Artium et Medecin. Mgr., Cler. Valentin. (Reg. 735, f° 297.)

Johannes de Valois, Cler. Oxomen. Nobilis. (Reg. 736, f° 188.)

Franciscus de Prats, Cartagin., Decret. Dr. (Reg. 737, f° 121vo.)

Andreas Vives, Can. Cesaraugustan., Medecin. Mgr. (Reg. 737, f° 280vo.)

Jacobus de Buttafogo, Silven. dioc. Decret. Dr. (Reg. 738, f° 211vo.)

Johannes Andire, Cler. Cesaraugustan., Theol. Dr. (Reg. 738, f° 311vo.)

Joannes Valls, Cler., Ilerden., Nobilis. (Reg. 741, f° 3vo.)

Joannes Andree, Dioc. Dertusien., Theol. Dr. (Reg. 744, f° 181vo.)

Matheus Cirera, Cler. Valentin., Decret. Dr. (Reg. 743, f° 85vo.)

Ferdinandus de Villalua, Archipbr. Zamoren., Nobilis. (Reg. 747, f° 49.)

Laurentius Pehan, Cler. Bambergen., Artium Mgr. (Reg. 748, f° 176.)

Joannes de Vera, Can. Valentin., Decret. Dr. (Reg. 749, f° 130.)

Jacobus de Serra, Canon. Valentin. (Reg. 749, f° 212.)

Antonius Bret, Can. Ilerden., Decret. Baccal. (Reg. 751, f° 298.)

Ignatius de Collames, Cler. Seguntin., Decret. Dr. (Reg. 753, f° 272.)

Bernardus de Burgundis, Baiocen. dioc., Decret. Dr. (Reg. 753, f° 755, f° 19vo.)

Bartholomeus de Salavert, Urgelen. dioc. U. J. Dr. (Reg. 755, f° 173vo.)

Nicolaus Czepet, Can. Guienen., Decret. Licent. (Reg. 757, f° 91.)

Bernardus de Cabera, Cler. Barchinon., Nobilis. (Reg. 757, f° 188.)

Martinus Capata, Tirasonen. dioc., Nobilis (Reg. 757, f° 228.)

Dominicus Stephani, Cler. Cesaraugustan., Nobilis. (Reg. 757, f° 241vo.)

Arnaldus Guill, de Gramonte, Cler. Oloren., Decret. Dr. (Reg. 757, f° 245.)

Adchron de Castelvi, Valentin., dioc., Nobilis. (Reg. 758, f° 295.)

Joh. Hieronymus Corneran, Cler. Valentin., Nobilis (Reg. 760, f° 267vo.)

Leander de Coscon, Cler. Cesaraugustan., Decret. Baccal. (Reg. 766, ° 124vo.)

Petrus Perez, Cler. Carthaginen., Decret. Dr. (Reg. 766, f° 216vo.)

Guilelmus Raymundi Centelles, Can. Terralben., Decret. Dr. (Reg. 766, f° 289.)

DOCUMENT 86b.

Pope Alexander VI pledges his precious tiara for the payment of papal debts.

Instrumentum pignorationis Mvtre et aliorum ac etiam Creditorum cum Mercatorum de Saulis et Berto Berto.

1492. 19. Nov :

In nomine domini Amen. Anno domini M.CCCCLXXXXII°. Indictione Xa. die vero decima nona Novembris. Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Alexandri pape VI. Anno primo. Noverint universi hoc instrumentum inspecturi Quod cum propter multas et varias expensas extraordinarias quas temporibus felicis recordationis domini Innocentii pape VIII. Apostolica Camera sustinere oportuit. Ipso postmodum vita functo repertum esset, quod mercatores romanam Curiam sequentes pretendebant se esse eiusdem Camere creditores super eius proventibus spiritualibus de maxima summa Centum viginti milium florenorum auri de Camera excedentium, et constabat legitime quod eiusmodi eorum Crediti maxima pars comparata et acquisita fuerat per inordinarium et insolitum modum et pro pretio dimidiae vere summe et iusti pretii non ascendentis. Ideoque Rmus. in Christo pater et dominus dominus Raphael sancti Georgii sancte rom. ecclesie Diaconus Cardinalis domini pape Camerarius cum totius Camere consilio a primordio assumptionis eiusdem domini nostri pape, Intendens rem ad aequitatem reducere et indemnitati eorundem Creditorum ac prefate Camere pariter providere, habuisset diversos Tractatus desuper cum singulis mercatorum Creditorum eorundem de satisfaciendo eis, facta certa defalcatione et diminutione equa et bene convenienti ; premissis consideratis, tandem in mei Notarii et Testium infrascriptorum presentia spectabilis vir Andreas Scalia Genuensis institor societatis Sauli de Saulis Mercatoris Genuensis de romana Curia et eo nomine fecit Calculum et rationem cum eodem Rmo. domino Camerario et Rndis. patribus domino Alexandro Francisco prothonothario, et eiusdem Sanctissimi domini nostri pape generali Thesaurario, ac domino Ludovico angello, domino Caspare blondo, domino Joanne Gerona etiam prothonotariis, et Apostolice Camere clericis, pro eodem domino nostro papa, et Camera apostolica

agentibus. In conspectu eiusdem domini nostri pape, et Rendmorum in Christo patrum et dominorum domini Joannis Cardinalis Montis regalis, domini B. Cardinalis de Ursinis ac domini Ascanii Sfortia Sancti Viti in Macellis diaconi Cardinalis, Sancte romane ecclesie Vicecancellarii eidem domino nostro pape assistentis de omni credito quod dicta Societas de Saulis eatenus habuerat seu habere pretenderat, ex quavis causa cum eadem Camera apostolica super dictis proventibus spiritualibus. Et posito quod omne eiusmodi creditum bene computatum ascenderet et faceret summam triginta quinque milium et septuaginta florenorum auri de Camera in auro. Et quod pro summa duodecim milium et quingentorum florenorum similium eadem Sotietas de Saulis deberet remanere Creditrix sub modo et conditione universali omnium aliorum mercatorum de Romana Curia dicte Camere Creditorum super eisdem proventibus spiritualibus, hoc autem quia in veritate asseruit idem Andreas Scalia quod eiusmodi creditum duodecim milium florenorum non pertinet simpliciter ipsis de Saulis, sed diversis aliis Mercatoribus de Curia, in quorum favorem credit illa resignare et transferre si ipsis placebit. Ita quod Calculus eiusmodi concerneret solum summam viginti duorum milium quingentorum, et septuaginta similium florenorum, et quod ex ipsis deduceretur summa mille octingentorum quadraginta sex florenorum, in quia eadem Societas de Saulis apparebat debitrix Camere pro diversis Annatis, pro quibus se eidem Camere obligaverat. Et hoc quia attentis qualitatibus ipsorum crediti predicti: ipsos esse faciendos in eo potiores aliis. Et item alia summa noningentorum et XX^{ti}. unius similium florenorum qui reperiebantur remansisse in manibus eorundem de Saulis ante obitum dicti domini Innocentii pape ex diversis divisionibus pro ipsorum portione ultime divisionis, cum ipsi essent dictorum proventuum spiritualium communes Depositarii pro Camera apostolica et predictis omnibus Creditoribus spiritualium; Repertum est eandem Societatem remanere Creditricem dicte Camere: In et de summa florenorum similium septem-

Summa tringinta quinque millium et septuaginta florenorum auri de Camera.

Creditum sunt XII. millia florenorum similium.

Super XXII milli, et LXX flor: fit tractatio.

milium et viginti unius cum dimidio alterius floreni : preter et ultra dictam summam duodecim milium et quingentorum florenorum. In qua ut predictum est eadem Societas ex pacto expresso tunc ibidem facto : remansit Creditrix sub communi et generali conditione ceterorum Creditorum predictorum. Eandem vero summam VII. milium et XXI. florenorum in quibus apostolica Camera ipsis tenebatur pro pretio unius Balasci magni et unius Margarite sive perle magne quam nuper dederunt Sanctissimo domino nostro pape pro certa eius Sanctitatis oportunitate. Rmus. dominus Camerarius prefatus de eiusdem domini nostri pape ibidem presentis vive vocis oraculo expresso mandato ut premictitur facto, et auctoritate sui Camerariatus officii pro eadem Camera solemniter promisit et convenit eidem Andree Scalia ut supra stipulanti et recipienti realiter et cum effectu dare solvere et pagare ad et per totum mensem Aprilis Anno M. CCCC. LXXXXIII. proxime futuri, obligans propterea eidem Andree similiter stipulanti et recipienti omnia et singula predicte Camere apostolice bona mobilia et immobilia presentia et futura temporalia et spiritualia ubilibet constituta in forma Camere et in quacunque alia meliori et efficaciori forma, que dici excogitari et esse potest cum iuramento submissionibus etc.

Sauli remanent Creditores in VII. mill: et XXI. flor: auri

Item mille pro Balascio et perla.

Et nihilominus pro maiore eiusdem Societatis de Saulis et aliorum infrascriptorum cautela et securitate idem Rmus. dominus Camerarius de simili mandato tradidit et consignavit eidem Andree institori ut supra recipienti in pignus et Loco pignoris Mytram pontificalem preciosam auro gemnis et margaritis ad magni pretii extimationem ornatam, quam fecit felicis recordationis Paulus papa II[us]. Quam quidem Mytram idem Rendmus. dominus Camerarius voluit et convenit cum eodem Andrea ut donec et quousque fuerit ipsi dictis nominibus solutum et satisfactum et predicta summa VII. millium et XXI. florenorum, Liceat ei penes se in domo sue proprie habitationis seu alio Loco de quo ipso melius videbitur, dummodo non extra Urbem Romam habere tenere et custodire tanquam rem suam et per ipsum iure optimo custodiendam. Et preterea cum idem Andreas Scalia ut supra agens et quidam alii Mercatores de predicta Romana Curia ex eo sint predicto Camere Creditores

de certa summa florenorum infrascripta summa quatuormilium florenorum excedentium. Qui superioribus mensibus dederunt eidem Camere diversas et pecuniarum summas ad celebrandum exequias predicti Innocentii pape VIII de quibus nondum fuerunt aut sunt soluti. Cumque honorabilis Vir Bertus Berti institor Societatis de Stroczis de Romana Curia et ille nomine iamdudum fuisset ex legitimis causis eiusdem Camere Creditor In et de summa etiam Quattuormilium florenorum auri de Camera, proque ea summa habuisset et tenuisset aliquandiu in pignus pectorale aureum pontificale gemnis pretiosis munitum. Quod postmodum felicis recordationis domino Innocentio prefato gratiose restituerat nulla de eisdem Quattuormillium florenorum habita restitutione. Idem Rmus. dominus Camerarius volens et intendens eorum omnium et singulorum indemnitati et securitati providere, de simili etiam mandato concessit eidem Andree Scalia tam suo ut supra, quam Berti et aliorum Mercatorum supra designatorum nominibus et vice agenti et recipienti. Ut etiam postquam fuerit ei satisfactum de predicta summa florenorum VII millium XXI proprio nomine predicto ei ex supradicto calculo debitorum nihilominus liceat ei Mytram eandem in idem pignus ut supra habere retinere et custodire donec et quousque Berto predicto de summa IIII. millium ut premissum est ei debita et sibi ipsi ac aliis in ea parte ipsius sociis similiter de summa aliorum IIII millium florenorum occasione exequiarum etiam ut premissum est debita, fuerit solutum et satisfactum neque possit vel debeat ad ipsam restitutionem prius aut aliter cogi vel compelli. Eisdem autem VIII. millium et XXI. et IIII. millium ac aliorum quattuormillia (sic) florenorum summis sibi et dictis aliis quandocumque etiam ante predictum tempus solutis, Teneatur idem Andreas Scalia Mytram eandem cum omnibus in ea nunc existentibus Gemnis et Margaritis, iuxta eius descriptionem et inventarium per me eundem Notarium stipulatum et factum absque ulla diminutione vel fraude ipsi Rmo. domino Camerario ut supra recipienti restituere et reddere.

Creditum pro pannis receptis et pecuniarum mutuum pro exequiis.

Item liceat retinere Mytram pro aliis IIII. milli florenis debitis Berto super Bottone.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armarium 34. Codex 13, f° 117vo.

DOCUMENT 87.

Pope Alexander VI elected unanimously.
His humility and confidence in God.

Alexander eps. servus servorum Dei. Dilecto filio Nobili Viro Sisgismundo Austrie Archiduci Dignissimo Salt. et aplicam. ben. Salvator nr dominus Ihs. Xrs. ut ab eterna morte liberaret humanum genus mortalitatem nre carnis assumpsit sacrosanctamque Universalem eccliam. sua passione fundatam in Terris usque ad consummationem seculi perpetuari voluit et Gregis sui oves pascendas per variam successionem Pastorum qui eas verbo et opere ad eternam gloriam invitarent disposuit. Sane cum felicis recordationis Innocentius pp. VIII predecessor nr Septimo Kl. Augusti sicut domino placuit ex hac mortali vita ad immortalem migrasset, post funeris ipsius ac solemnium exequiarum ut moris est celebrationem Venerabiles fratres nr. sancte Roman. ecclie. Cardinales, de quorum numero tunc eramus, Rome in palatio aplico. apud Basilicam beati Petri Aplor. Principis in quo idem predecessor dum viveret habitabat et cursum presentis vite finierat in conclavi pro electione futuri Pontificis celebranda modo et tempore congruis in virtute altissimi convenerunt, ubi varijs consilijs et maturis deliberationibus prehabitis facta celebratione Misse in honorem Spiritussancti post diligentem tractatum prout tante rei qua nulla maior in Terris agitur gravitas exigebat, tandem predicti fratres eius qui invocatus fuit gratia eorum cordibus infusa, licet in alios maioribus meritis insignes convenire potuissent, certo tamen dei iudicio cuius consilia inscrutabilia sunt, nos tunc Epum. Portuen. sancte Roman. ecclie. Vicecancellarium in Sponsum Pastoremque ecclie. sue sancte Tertio Id. Augusti unanimi voluntate et concordia elegerunt. quoniam vero sicut domino placuit ita factum est quamvis nos habere humeros imbecilles ad perferendum tantum onus quantum est Universalis ecclie. sarcina sentiremus, tamen, ne reluctari voluntati dei videremur, colla subjecimus iugo aplice. servitutis, sperantes in eo qui infirma eligit mundi ut confundat fortia cum Roman. Pontifex, licet per ministerium hominum eligatur, ex celesti tamen inspiratione procedit, quod fragilitati nre. robur sue gratie

inspirabit et vires contra hostes fidei suggeret ut perfidi Turci non solum a suis ausibus retrahantur sed ope divini auxilii et presidio nostro ac Catholicorum Regum et Principum penitus conculcentur. Hanc autem assumptionem nostram ad tuam consolationem significandam duximus Nobilitati tue quam singulari caritate complectimur hortantes eandem in domino primum ut porrigi faciat preces solennes ad dominum deum nrm. ut nobis sua gratia assistat ac nre humilitati gratiam tribuat ut eccliam suam sanctam ad gloriam et honorem eius ac exaltationem fidei et extirpationem heresum pacem et quietem populi christiani feliciter in domino gubernare valeamus. Dat. Rome apud Sanctumpetrum Anno incarnationis dominice Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo secundo Septimo Kl. Septembr. Pontificatus nri. Anno Primo.

Original on parchment, with lead seal.

Vienna, K. K. Staatsarchiv. Osterr., 1492, 26 Aug. — This brief, mutatis mutandis, addressed to Terni, is in Additione Oldoini ad Ciaconium, Vitae Roman. Pontiff., p. 156.

DOCUMENT 88.

Pope Alexander VI accused of simony.

Le Roy estoit encores à Rome... Avec luy estoient... et y estoit ledit Monseigneur Ascaigne, Vicechancelier, et frère du Duc de Milan, et Petri-ad-Vincula (qui estoient grands ennemis du Pape, et amis l'un de l'autre)... Le Pape estoit audit chasteau. Deux fois fut l'artillerie preste, comme m'ont dit [a]) les plus grands : mais tousiours le Roy par sa bonté y resista. Le lieu n'est pas defensable : car la motte est de main d'home faite, et petite [b]). Or allegoient-ils bien que ces murs estoient tombez par miracle, [c]) et le chargeoient d'avoir acheté cette saincte dignité, et disoient vray ; mais ledit Ascaigne en avoit esté le principal marchand, qui avoit tout guidé, et en eut

a) From which it is evident that Comines wrote this from hearsay.

b) It was said that a portion of the walls of Sant' Angelo had crumbled down at that time.

c) The writer was rather credulous.

grand argent, et si eut la maison dudit Pape, luy estant Vice-chancelier, et les meubles qui estoient dedans, et son office de Vice-chancelier, et plusieurs places du patrimoine. Car eux estoient à l'envy à qui seroit Pape. Toutesfois je croy qu'ils eussent consenty tous deux [d]) d'en faire un nouveau, au plaisir du Roy...

Memoires de Messire Philippe de Comines, a Brusselle, MDCCXXIII, L. 7, p. 56.

DOCUMENT 89[a].

Manfredo Manfredi intimates that the servants of Cardinal Gherardo, bought with money, won him over for Cardinal de Borgia.

Firenze 22 Agosto 1492.

...Tutti quelli che si ritrovorno nel conclavio alli servitii delli R[mi] Cardinali son stati premiati da N. S., che, per quanto intendo, ha dato a quelli che erano cum el Patriarcha venetiano ducati VI mila contanti, et dicese che per mezzo loro se dispose epso Patriarcha ad dargli la voce sua, chè prima stava pertinace ad favorirlo:..

Capelli, Atti e Memorie, T. IV, p. 324.

DOCUMENT 89[b].

Papal subsidy for the deceased Cardinal Gherardo.

Dicta die (XX Septembris, 1492.) similiter solverunt ducatos septingentos auri de Camera, vigore mandati d. thesaurarii sub die prima dicti mensis R[mo] card. et patriarce Veneto, pro dono eidem facto.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, Vol. 524, f° CXLII.

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d) This indicates that only two cardinals are meant as accusers. From other particulars it appears that only one, if any, Giuliano della Rovere, impeached the Pontiff.

DOCUMENT 90.

Pope Alexander VI donates his palace to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza.

Alexander etc. Dilecto filio Ascanio Marie Sancti Viti in Macello Martirum Diacono Cardinali S. R. ecclie. Vicecancellario Salutem etc. Precellentia merita... et a quo multa singularia suscepimus obsequia et etiam in assistendo nobis ad perferendum onera nobis desuper commissa Apostolatus officii continuos labores indefesse sustines, dignum ymo potius debitum reputamus ut erga te nostre liberalitatis manus extendamus ac tibi ea benigne condonemus ex quibus tuis ac tuorum commoditatibus valeat subveniri. Sane dudum... Nos igitur actendentes quod tu in dicta Urbe nullam propriam habitationem habes ac considerantes quod propter tuam erga personam nostram precipuam devotionem ac singularia per te nobis impensa obsequia plurima a nobis meruisti, volentesque propter ea vicem gratitudinis impendere ac tuis tuorumque commoditatibus aliqua ex parte providere, Motu simili, non ad tuam vel alterius pro te nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantiam, sed de nostra mera liberalitate et certa scientia domum predictam cum curia aulis cameris terrenis orto puteis cisternis ac omnibus et singulis circumstantiis adjacentibus usibus juribus pertinentiis et melioramentis prout illam tempore assumptionis nostre ad summum Apostolatus apicem tenebamus et possidebamus tibi tuisque heredibus et successoribus in perpetuum per te videlicet et ipsos tenendam habendam et possidendam pure libere et irrevocabiliter donatione que dicitur inter vivos, donamus conferimus et assignamus... Datum Laterani Anno Incarnationis domce. Mccccl xxxx secundo, Septimo Kl. Septembr. Pont. nri Anno primo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. : Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, II, III. Lib. III. To. 98, Regest. 869, f° 35.

DOCUMENT 91.

Pope Alexander VI prepares a decree against corruption at the conclaves.

In Conclavi nulla corruptio. — Quicumque ex cardinalibus pro voto quod dabit in electione Romani Pontificis aliquid temporale accepit, quod accepit non faciat suum : neque ab aliquo etiam Romano pontifice absolvi possit, nisi illud quod accepit inter pauperes Christi distribuat. Si vero beneficium aliquod vel officium ecclesiasticum ex eo tunc vel postea, precedente promissione, acceperit, nullum titulum in eo beneficio vel officio habere intelligatur, et in penam sui erroris sit in alia sequenti electione pontificis inhabilis, ita ut vocem neque activam neque passivam habeat, nulla dispensatione pontificis vel permissione aut licentia Collegii super hoc profutura. Et ut libertas et sinceritas in re tanta efficatius adsint, prohibemus ne in conclavi ullo modo intret aliquis secularis vel clericus conjugatus, nisi de medico vel alia persona similiter necessaria omnes et singuli cardinales congregati alias dispensaverint, et si cardinalis unius vel plurium culpa aliquis inclusus fuerit, excommunicationis sententiam eo ipso incurrant, et ille temere se ingerens ex conclavi omnino expellatur mulctatus eo ipso in duobus milibus ducatis camere apostolice applicandis.

Bibl. Vatic. Latin. 3884, f° 79vo.

DOCUMENT 92.

Camillo Beneimbene on the election of pope Alexander VI.

.....

Sextus Alexander propriae virtutis honore
Ac laudum meritis summa ad fastigia rerum
Lectus„ Apostolicae conscendit culmina Sedis.

.....

Nempe Deus, foribus secreto cardine clausis,
Pectore dum ancipiti titubant sacer ordo patresque
Pene vacillantes animis meditantur anhelis

Cui coelestis Apex, non parvo in turbine rerum,
Aptius et tantae cedant moderamina molis,
Adstitit in medio conventu, et pectora pulsans
Implet amore sui, et cunctantia corda flagellat,
Infusumque animis numen penitusque medullis
Implicat herentem possessaque corda tenentem.
Ut sensere Deum, mox suffragantia vota
In te convertunt animis concordibus unum !

Bibl. Vaticana, Ottoboniana, Cod. 2280, f° 165.

DOCUMENT 93.

Answer of pope Alexander VI to Siena's solemn act of obeisance.

Jam pridem, Oratores insignes, senatus vestri populique Senensis veram leticiam et hilaritatem publicam nostri pontificatus, ad quem jubente Deo communi omnium Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae cardinalium decreto assumpti sumus, relatam Nobis sepius, quam credidimus presentes intuemur ampliorem. Vestra enim oratio perfectissima eandem illam et Nobis et sanctae romanae ecclesiae cardinalibus fratribus nostris et astantibus cunctis apertius comprobavit. Quod autem primi ante alios Christianorum principes debitam, sicut asseruistis, in nos et apostolicam sedem obedientiam solliciti prestitistis, gratias agimus nunc et referemus aliquando. Civitatem vestram Senensem, quae etsi a Zenonibus forte traxit originem, ornamenta tamen omnia a Romanis nostris praedecessoribus illam sumpsisse constat, pontificali dignatione et paterna dilectione continuo prosequemur, conservabimus et omni tempore curabimus augere... Dignitatem Senensis civitatis vestrae, quae multis viris amplissimis omni tempore decorata, notissimam pretermitto referre. Cum Pius Secundus Pontifex Maximus, quem avunculus et predecessor noster, Calixtus, sacro cardinalium senatui cardinalem adjunxit, Catherina Senensis Sanctarum nunc addita numero, Divus Bernardinus et Richardus ille Senensis vicecancellarius cardinalis, cujus summam scientiam Sextus Decretalium liber indicat, testimonium augent veritatis. Alexandri Tertii predecessoris nostri magnitudinem ani-

mique virtutem iure commemoro, qui Federicum imperatorem, Pharaonen alterum, homo jacentem sese ac Sedem apostolicam adorare coegit, neque durissimam cervicem eius sacro pede calcare cessavit. Obedientiam postremo vestram hodierno hoc die Nobis exhibitam Nos et nostri Senatus cardinalium nomine, leta fronte et animo grato suscipimus nunc et retinebimus quandocumque. Quae autem semotis erunt arbitris explanada, ea omnia intentis auribus audiam ipse secretius ; quibus pro nostro pontificatus viribus satisfaciam oportune.

Comment. Hier. Porcii, Rome, Bibl. Barberin. Cod. B. B. B. I. 13.

DOCUMENT 93b.

Extracts from Jason de Mayno's discourse at the solemn obeisance of the duke of Milan.

...Aperiemus in primis quam benemerita fuerit haec tua coelestis assumptio, immo quam necessaria ; ex qua christianorum omnium animi maximam spem conceperunt, ut laeta prosperaque omnia in tuo pontificatu speranda sint...

Si unquam antea, Reverendissimi militantis Ecclesiae cardinales, divino Spiritu afflati puris mentibus ac recto judicio electionis sanctae mysterium absolverunt ; hac profecto tempestate, et syncerius quam unquam et candidius ac foelicius officio functi sunt. Te ex sacratissimo conclavi omnium suffragiis Pontificem Maximum declararunt...

Exactissimum fuit judicium hujus sacri cardinei senatus in deligendo te Summo Pontifice, qui et fortitudine praestas et magna sapientia preditus es. Jam multis magnisque periculis aperte declarasti quam sis invicta constantis animi magnitudine et infracto solidissimae mentis robore. Tu nec adversis deterreri solitus, nec secundis, efferri, inflexibili rectitudine, incorrupto judicio, et integritate incommutabili idem persistis. In omni vitae cursu adversus quoscumque fortunae impetus eadem frons et idem vultus persistit... Nemo etiam literarum eruditione cum longo rerum usu te doctior ; nemo varia et multiplici multarum rerum experientia prudentior ; nemo cum plurium negociorum administratione cautior ; nemo longa et assidua diversarum gentium consuetudine in noscendis et li-

brandis hominibus callidior ; nemo rerum antiquarum ac novarum cognitione peritior ; nemo morum veterum ac novorum scientia praestantior. Jam annis Septem et triginta ad cardinalatus apicem evectus... non solum Romanae curiae mores ac ritus omnes percalluisti, non solum ecclesiarum ac ecclesiasticarum personarum instituta causasque dedicisti, verum etiam secretiora quaeque populorum, nationum, Principum Regumque negotia pertractasti. Pro apostolica sede varia functus es legatione, praesertim Hispaniensi, Picentiana et Partenopea non minus sapienter et prospere quam gloriose... Te ergo consule, te audi, tibi ausculta, tibi obtempera ; non est in quo alterius consilio tibi opus sit. Te unum tibi imitandum propone, quo nihil in humanis divinius reperies, et qui caeterorum norma et verum es exemplar. Nunquam aberrabis si a te ipso nunquam discesseris ; si tuo acri ingenio parueris, et tuo gravissimo judicio fueris obsecutus, nihil unquam deerit quod ulla in re in consummatissimo Pontifice exigatur...

Nec multo minor vestra laus est, Sacratissimi cardinales, talem elegisse qui... Non potestis R^mi^ cardinales non optimi censeri qui pastorem universo gregi christiano optimum prospexistis, proinde cum hujuscemodi sit quem elegistis, ut non solum ab omnibus eligi et ex omnibus meruerit, verum etiam omnibus anteponi et ab omnibus debuerit. Immortales vobis et incredibiles gratiae turmatim catervatimque per universum christianum orbem et habentur et aguntur... Sub tam consummato Pontifice, qui ab omnibus virtutibus summitates apicesque decerpsit, omnium doctrinarum et omnium ingenuarum artium studia florebunt ; excitabuntur ingenia et scientiarum professores ad excolenda gymnasia, premiorum spe propensius extollentur. Jamjam literarum studia sese erigere et sub tanto virtutum vexilifero altius efferri et in aura retro secula reduci videntur...

Fuit, Beatissime Pater, haec tua coelestis assumptio, reipublicae christianae non minus necessaria quam salutaris : Si quis publicas clades, horrendas christiani generis calamitates, convulsa orthodoxae religionis membra secum consideret ; si quis tantum barbarae nationes adversus christianos populos non uno, sed innumeris locis invaluerint animadvertat.... Tui muneris est procul arcere hanc immanem feram ab ovili Dominico... Ista haud difficulter conficies, cum immortali tui nominis

gloria, si, ut est tui propositi, christianae paci quam maxime consulueris, dissidentes inter se principes ac populos auctoritate tua composueris... assecutus es ut quantum antea prodesse desiderabas, tantum et nunc possis. Voluntati potestas accessit, et desiderio tuo exequendi facultas est associata. Occurrendum est in tempore imminenti periculo... Nosti, Sanctissime Pater, quantum aerumnarum, quantum detrimenti, christiana Respublica ex principum desidia, ex pontificum negligentia sit perpessa. Nosti nimium quae commemorare nunc etiam animus horreat. Saepenumero antecessorum tuorum cunctationem indoluisti, incusasti tarditatem, ignaviam et torporem es detestatus. Maumethani Scitarum populi parvis primum viribus vix brevem Hellesponti angulum astu et perfida potius quam virtute bellica aut armis occupavere. Deinde crevere viribus et indies non parum incrementi suis rebus attulerunt ; dum Principes christiani inter se dissidentes aliorum funestas clades calamitatesque negligunt, dum privatis magis quam publicis commodis studere credunt, et suae potius quam communi christianae utilitati consulere arbitrantur.

Minus decorum est solis majorum laudibus censeri, et illustribus avorum monumentis umbratilem gloriam venari : Crevisti tu virtutibus tuis ; tuis meritis, tuis laboribus tibi aperuisti viam ad istud fastigium quo nunc es evectus. Talia tibi a puero fundamenta jecisti, quale edificium in senectute excitandum conceperas. Nescio an natura praesagiente, an divino consilio factum sit ut quasi ab incunabulis ita vitam tuam institueres, mores componeres, actiones tuas formares, ut dignus reddereris tanto solio, ad cujus regimen parari et ordinari videbaris. Vacasti istis potissimum virtutibus, illis disciplinis incubuisti, quae ad tantum munus obeundum necessariae videbantur, et ad reddendum te tanto sceptro dignum essent accommodatae : Per rectam artium bonarum semitam progrediens, et per aureos virtutum gradus ascendens, ad foelicitatis apicem es perductus.

Accessit formae elegantia, quae virtuti suffragium addit : lata frons, regium supercilium, facies liberalis, et tota majestatis plena, ingenuus et heroicus totius corporis decor; ut appareat naturam quoque formae dignitatem indulxisse, quae tibi primum multum gratiae et venerationis adquireret, et nunc

apostolicam Sedem hanc tua divina forma quasi numinis vice decoraret.

Post prima literarum rudimenta, deposita praetexta, virilem togam induisti. Petisti Bononiam bonarum doctrinarum altricem, pro assequendo ingenii cultu et sapientia capescenda, civitatis fama allectus et ob Hispanorum achademiam ibi sitam, quae collegiali sodalitate scolasticoque contubernio complures Hispanos in sola literarum palestra nutrit. Vacasti pontificiae imperatoriaeque censurae, ut quae a Romanis pontificibus decreta, quae a Sacris conciliis sancita essent, tu futurus Pontifex Maximus nonignorares. Raris concessum est, ut qui ingenii acumine excellunt, tenacis memoriae foecunditate laetentur ; sed in te adeo cumulatae concurrunt ut, quo magis praestes : an acriori ingenio, an tenaciori memoria non sit facile judicare. Intra Septennii metam peracto celebri Studiorum cursu, doctoreas infulas suscepisti : quoddam futurae felicitatis praeludium.

Interea Calistus avunculus tuus in Summum Ecclesiae Pastorem assumptus, te post aliquod tempus in sacrum et gloriosissimum Cardinalium ordinem coaptavit, cum praesentiret te Dei judicio ad majus tribunal destinatum...

Per annos multos quibus Cardinalatus et Vicecancellariatus officio functus es, nemo tuam operam requisivit, cui non promptissimam exhiberes ; nemini unquam justum patrocinium denegasti. Nemo calamitate affectus aut injuria lacessitus, frustra tuam operam imploravit. Fuit tibi familiare non solum petentibus subvenire, sed etiam non petentibus ultro suppetias ferre. Facile semper ad te aditus patuerunt ; nec maximis aliquando negociis implicitus, unquam es de occupatione causatus.

Consuetudo modesta et familiaris, quam comitas non sine severitate, cum severitate hilaritas, cum gravitate benignitas, pari libra condirent. Sermo liberalis et compositus, et adeo suavis ut tanquam Euripidis a melle et Sirenibus profluere videatur. Tua gravissima responsa inter Catoniana apothegmata numerari possunt.

Quoscumque te adeuntes non solum benigne excipiebas, verum etiam suavibus verbis familiaribusque blandimentis demulcebas. Exemplo Titi imperatoris neminem unquam abs te tristem abire patiebaris, et diem perdidisse existimabas, qua nihil cuique praestitisses. Liberalitatem et munificentiam tuam largitiones splendidae sumptusque magnifici apte cumulateque

ostendunt. Infinitum esset singula recensere quibus dinumerandis non dicam exornandis nec tempus lege Pompeia praefixum sufficeret...

Inclytissimus Mediolanensium Princeps et sapientissimus ejus patruus Dux Barri, ut primum te ad apostolicum culmen evectum intellexerunt, conceperunt animis laetitiam inextimabilem, gaudium incredibile... Si enim quisquam gaudere merito debet (et debent omnes) Illustrissimi Principes nostri etc...

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